

Space to Participate: Children's rights and the Scottish town planning
system

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ABSTRACT

Children are often excluded or marginalised in public space, but it is increasingly recognised that this denies them certain rights enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). In particular, a child's right to be heard in matters that affect them (Article 12), and the right to play, rest, leisure and access to cultural life (Article 31). The UK ratified this convention in 1991, but it has not yet fed through into the range of policy measure that may affect children, and amongst these is the town planning system in Scotland. This research examines what children's rights mean for the town planning system, and how it can move towards a child-rights informed practice, focusing on middle childhood (ages 6-12). It takes a rights-based framework to conduct critical ethnographic participatory action research. This involves a live project around a local park restoration with children aged 9-12; interviews with professionals; and critical discourse analysis of policy. It finds that children in middle childhood are capable of participating in planning in a number of ways, but that planning research and practise are not well-placed, or supported at present, to do so. By bringing insights from other disciplines, empirical work, and analysis, the thesis ends by suggesting ways to make the participation of children in place and process more achievable in Scotland.

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DEDICATION

To all the child participants in this study.

DECLARATION STATEMENT

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Chapter One: Introduction

What children do, where they go, and what they think is not a frequent topic of critical thought for built environment professionals. Consequently, they are not a community much addressed in planning practice and research. Linked to this, geographical thought on children is a relatively new pursuit, and academics outside of specifically child-focused disciplines rarely study them. This means that disciplines such as history, sociology, and developmental psychology, that do look at childhood, generally focus on adults' views of children, and rarely on how children view themselves, others, or their environments. With specific human rights for children however, matters of childhood become a topic of not only social concern, but of concern to international law and commitment, meaning that there is an imperative to consider children in planning. This chapter introduces the topic of children's rights in the context of the Scottish town planning system. Unlike a standard introduction, it begins with some background to human rights before clarifying the research problem, and then presenting the aims, research questions, research design, and introducing a case study. It finishes by explaining how the remaining chapters of this thesis are ordered and presented.

1.1 Human Rights

Situating this research requires a brief preamble into the wider context of human rights. These set a minimum standard for the treatment of all human beings, and by definition, do not require an individual to possess or acquire any pre-requisites before falling within their remit. Therefore, in principle, human rights cannot be reserved or taken away from any individual without compromising the dignity of both assailant and victim. Indeed, international human rights agreements mean that in many cases, removal of human rights is an international crime, and in Europe can be dealt with outside the country of perpetration (European Court of Human Rights & Council of Europe, n.d). Overseeing the development, and monitoring of most international human rights instruments is the United Nations (UN), which established the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This declaration serves as a foundation for much of the UN's work, giving rights such as to privacy, education, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion. It aims simultaneously to protect the sanctity of life, human dignity, and promote peace across nations (UN, 1948). Whilst in some countries the declaration has been controversial, on the most part, national governments accept human rights in principle.

In the United Kingdom (UK), human rights have a long history, and the Human Rights Act (UK Parliament, 1998) draws commitments made in the European Convention on Human Rights (The Council of Europe, 1950) into domestic law. The UK has also ratified all nine of the UN's international human rights conventions, produced between 1969 and 2006 (UN, 2016). However, in the UK no UN convention has been integrated directly into domestic law. Instead, the government's ratification stands as a commitment to influence legislation, policy and other practical elements of governance (UN, 2016). This is a common practice across nations, with ratification of a treaty not being the same as integrating it into law or other governance. A monitoring role is thus taken by UN committees which convene human rights experts in particular topics to assess a ratifying country's progress. Pressure also often comes from civil society groups and activists within a nation that work to hold their governing structures to account.

Whilst abuses occur worldwide, the UK is largely free of major human rights disputes. However, some conventions that enshrine specific rights for marginalised groups can present new challenges to even the most progressive of societies. This thesis examines one such extension of human rights in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (UN, 1989), which is the most widely ratified of all human rights treaties, but is arguably one of the least understood and implemented. Especially problematic is that the UNCRC presents challenges for areas of public policy that have so far faced little interaction with the specific needs and rights of the under 18 age group. I therefore explore the human rights of children in the built environment, with a particular focus on the Scottish town planning system, in an attempt to understand these issues and suggest solutions.

1.2 The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

The UNCRC (1989) sets out 42 internationally developed and recognised rights (and three optional protocols) for all people below the age of 18. It provides a framework for bringing about the 'three Ps' of *protection*, *provision*, and *participation* for all, through a range of interrelated and mutually reinforcing articles. The UK ratified the UNCRC in 1991, but has not integrated it directly into domestic law. Instead, it commits to meet the convention through legislative and policy measures, mostly addressed in children's services such as education and social work.

Adherence to the UNCRC is monitored for all ratifying countries by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which was formed in 1991 by an international group of experts in children's rights. Every six years, each national government submits a report to the CRC (with a

chance for Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) reports as well), who assess it, call for any points of clarification or oral evidence, and then report back with their assessment of the country's status, and concluding recommendations for further progression. The UK has consistently been praised for many of its efforts. However, the committee raises concerns that some rights have not received due attention in policy or law, particularly around provision and participation (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2008). Amongst these is Article 12, one of the main guiding principles of the treaty, stating:

'1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.' and

'2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.'

As well as Article 31, stating:

'1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.

2. States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity.' (UN, 1989)

Though the scope of these rights is clearly more complex, they are often more generally known as 'respect for the views of the child' (Article 12), and the 'right to play' (Article 31), and both have important implications for policy, professional practice, and the everyday lives of children. Despite this, evidence suggests that neither the UK as a whole, nor Scotland has successively integrated these rights into their planning policy or practice (Day et al., 2011; Wood, 2015). Indeed, guidance in Scotland on children's early development even refers to planning as an 'adult' service when suggesting it take a greater role in addressing the needs of children (Scottish Government, 2008a, p. 5). I therefore take these together as the primary focus of this research. However, noting that there is ambiguity in the wording of both Articles 12 and 31. I draw on literature, and the UN's general comments (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2003, 2013), to consider both Articles 12 and 31 as participation rights in the context of planning, and consequently in this thesis (see chapter two for detailed exploration). Article 12 denotes a right to participate in the process of planning decision-making, whilst Article 31 denotes a right to participate in everyday life, and hence in the

outcomes of planning. I refer to these throughout as participation in process, and participation in everyday life, or in place.

1.2.1 A Note on Scotland and the UK

Whilst the State party of the UNCRC is the UK, Scotland received devolved powers in 1999 with the Scotland Act 1998, and The Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government have devolved competencies to affect children's lives in a number of areas. These include education and training; health and social services; housing; justice; local government; sports and the arts; economic development; environment and planning; and many aspects of transport. Meanwhile, aspects of children's protection, provision, and participation remain at the UK Government level in terms of social security; foreign policy; data protection; and defense (Scottish Parliament, 2014a). This means that for some issues around children's rights, I refer to UK Government policy, but for planning and many related issues, the Scottish Government has jurisdiction. In Scotland, people reach the age of legal capacity at 18, with some limited capacities such as marriage and civil partnership coming earlier, at age 16.

1.3 Participation rights and town planning

The planning system in Scotland aims to guide development to the right places, taking the public's long term interest as its primary driver. In theory, this means planners must take account of the entirety of the public for which they plan, and therefore understand how varying characteristics affect a person's experience of place and needs from the built environment. Building on this and the UNCRC, UK Equalities legislation has made age a protected equality characteristic in the UK, and requires public policy to prevent unlawful discrimination, pursue ways to further equality between groups, and foster good relations between those sharing a protected characteristic and those who do not (The UK Government, 2010). Moreover, since 2011 it has been compulsory in Scotland to produce Equalities Impact Assessments (EQIAs) for policy and plans, which describes how each protected group has been taken into consideration, and equality promoted through it (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011). This gives impetus to hear the voices of, and understand the needs of children in planning, which is so far strategically unfilled (Wood, 2015).

Though the planning system may not have a long history of children's participation, since the establishment of the UNCRC, many practices have evolved to consider how to involve children in some form of decision-making. There is literature on a plethora of participatory projects in many areas - from school councils to community development projects- and these have achieved varying levels of success (c.f. Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010). Yet, it remains that whilst children are often at the forefront of many agendas, their views are often not (Hill et al., 2004). Moreover, when children are consulted on aspects of their local area, the influence they have on the outcome is often confined to child and youth-centric provisions such as playgrounds and youth groups (Elsley, 2004), meaning children rarely have an impact on the wider range of universal services that affect them.

With exclusion of children from decision-making, children aged 12 and below are even less likely to be consulted than their older counterparts. This is despite middle childhood (age 6-12) being regarded as the time when children are most sensitive to space, and have a great affinity with nature (Chawla, 1992; Simpson, 1997; Spencer & Woolley, 2000; Chawla & Unesco, 2002). Along with this, developmental psychology widely concedes that children of this age group have reached a stage of growing independence from their carers, and can comprehend the differences between their own and other's experiences (Piaget, 1952). However, middle childhood is also a time when personal freedom is especially limited by parents and society, with significant declines in children's freedom to roam occurring across Europe in the past two generations (Hillman et al., 1990; O'Brien et al., 2000; Fyhri & Hjorthol, 2009; Shaw et al., 2013). A lack of focus on these issues by universal public services, such as planning, signifies a lack of recognition that children have interests across policy agendas, and this is limiting the extent to which society as a whole can meet children's rights (Mcneish & Gill, 2006; Lundy et al., 2012; Tisdall, 2013). Thus, to facilitate a greater recognition of children's rights and needs in wider services, the town planning system must be aware of how it impacts children, and find ways to work alongside all other public services that affect them (Freeman, 2006). I focus here on the middle childhood age category as they may face the least attention in planning processes and outcomes, but may be most affected by them.

1.4 Research questions

This thesis aims to provide a theoretically informed, and empirically rich examination of the implications of children's participation rights on the Scottish planning system, for the stage of middle childhood. I achieve this through addressing three research questions:

1. What opportunities and challenges do children's rights present for urban planning?

Children's participation rights can be interpreted in a number of ways, and some aspects may come easily to planners, whilst others take the profession outside its norms of working and current understandings. This question draws out the elements of children's participation that are easy to establish, and those that take a greater critical awareness. This focuses on both Articles 12 and 31 (the right to participate in process, and in place)

2. How does the spatial structure of an area affect children's abilities to participate in everyday public life?

Children are affected by space, and space is affected by children. This question addresses the outcomes of planning and other related approaches and what they mean for children in structuring their lives. This brings insight into the positive and negative effects of current outcomes on children to provide potential best practice, and areas for the profession to develop. This focuses on Article 31, in terms of a child's right to participate in place.

3. What methods can effectively facilitate a rights-respecting approach to children's participation in planning processes, and its outcomes?

Planners making a commitment to children's participation need to know and understand what children are, and are not capable of, and in what scenarios. Children's meaningful participation means establishing methods that work for both children and planners, as well as addressing ethical considerations and the appropriateness of different approaches to different areas of planning and development. This focuses on Article 12, in terms of a child's right to participate in the process of planning.

In this investigation, I take the definition of 'child' enshrined in the UNCRC, to refer to all people below the age of 18, but may also use it more specifically in context to refer to children in middle childhood. In all instances, I try to be as specific as possible. In many examples of research and practice, the looser term 'young people' is used to refer to older age groups of children, and sometimes includes young adults. In general, this term can refer to age groups between the ages of 13 and 26, which is not the group of focus in this research. Therefore, I use the term 'young people' only when others have used it, but will specify the age range of the people they refer to as far as possible. When referring to older children on my own terms, I use the term 'teenagers' to make this distinction clearer. In addition, references to 'participation rights' encompass both Articles 12 and 31 combined.

1.5 Study approach

I address the research questions in the context of three inter-related elements of the town planning system. These are:

- Children and Place: to address the outcomes children need from planning (Article 31);
- Children and Process: to address the methods and strategies that may or may not achieve the required outcomes for children (Article 12); and
- Children and Policy: to draw together and consider the role of national and local government, along with third sector partners in fostering children's participation rights in planning.

I consequently turn lastly to strategies for achieving progress in children's participation in planning. I begin with three literature reviews that develop a framework for the empirical analysis, before I explain the data collection in a Methodology and Methods chapter. From here, I present an analysis of empirical findings under the above headings. I then tie everything together in the conclusion.

In the literature reviews, I draw from a range of fields in addition to planning such as children's geographies, environmental psychology, playwork, sociology, and politics. The key theories I examine are:

1. The participatory planning theories of collaborative planning (Healey, 1997, 2003) and communicative planning theory (Forester, 1989, 1999);
2. Foucault's theory of power and governmentality (1977, 1984, 1988, 1991); and
3. Foucault's spatial theory of Heterotopia (Foucault, 1986).

The Foucauldian approach to research allows me to examine the complex and unequal power relations between adult and child, and frames a power-conscious ethical approach to children in both the research practice, and in considering the research outcomes (Gallagher, 2008a, 2008b). This means understanding what existing discourses say about children's participation, and how a rights-respecting approach to planning could develop. I discuss these dynamics spatially, socially, and politically throughout the thesis.

I collected the data through mixed qualitative methods using a critical ethnographic participatory action research approach (see chapter five). I worked with children as part of a project based on the restoration of Saughton Park in Edinburgh, which I explain in the next section. This involved children between the ages of 9 and 12 (n=60) in a primary school classroom. I also collected data from professionals working on the project, and in the wider children's and planning sectors through

qualitative interviewing. Finally, I used existing policy documents for critical discourse analysis to better understand the structure of the field.

Table 1.1 shows how I used the data collected to inform the three aspects of this research. The aim is not to find any universal experience of children, but to understand the particularities of one area in Edinburgh for a small group of children, and the experiences of professionals working in the planning and children's sector. The study ultimately frames the findings in the context of land use planning at the devolved Scottish level. However, theoretical findings and general principles for practice may stretch across national boundaries and hold significance in other localities.

Table 1.1 A matrix to show how types of data collection contribute to each aspect of this thesis

	Place	Process	Policy
Saughton Park Case Study	✓	✓	
Classroom work with children	✓	✓	
Meetings		✓	
Interviews		✓	
Interviews with Professionals (Planning and Children's Sector)	✓	✓	✓
Scotland	✓	✓	✓
Wales	✓	✓	✓
Policy Analysis		✓	✓
Children			✓
Planning		✓	✓

1.5.1 The Saughton Park Case Study

Due to its significance as a centre in Scotland, my local knowledge, and the location of Heriot-Watt University, the bulk of this research focuses on one area of the City of Edinburgh. Saughton Park is located 3.5km south-west of the city centre (Figure 1.1). The restoration project involves a variety of actors at different levels, from the City of Edinburgh Council; a consortium of private

consultants; varying local community groups; and the general public. I worked with a community group called ‘The Friends of Saughton Park’, but also independently, to engage with a local primary school about the park’s future, and their views of the local area.

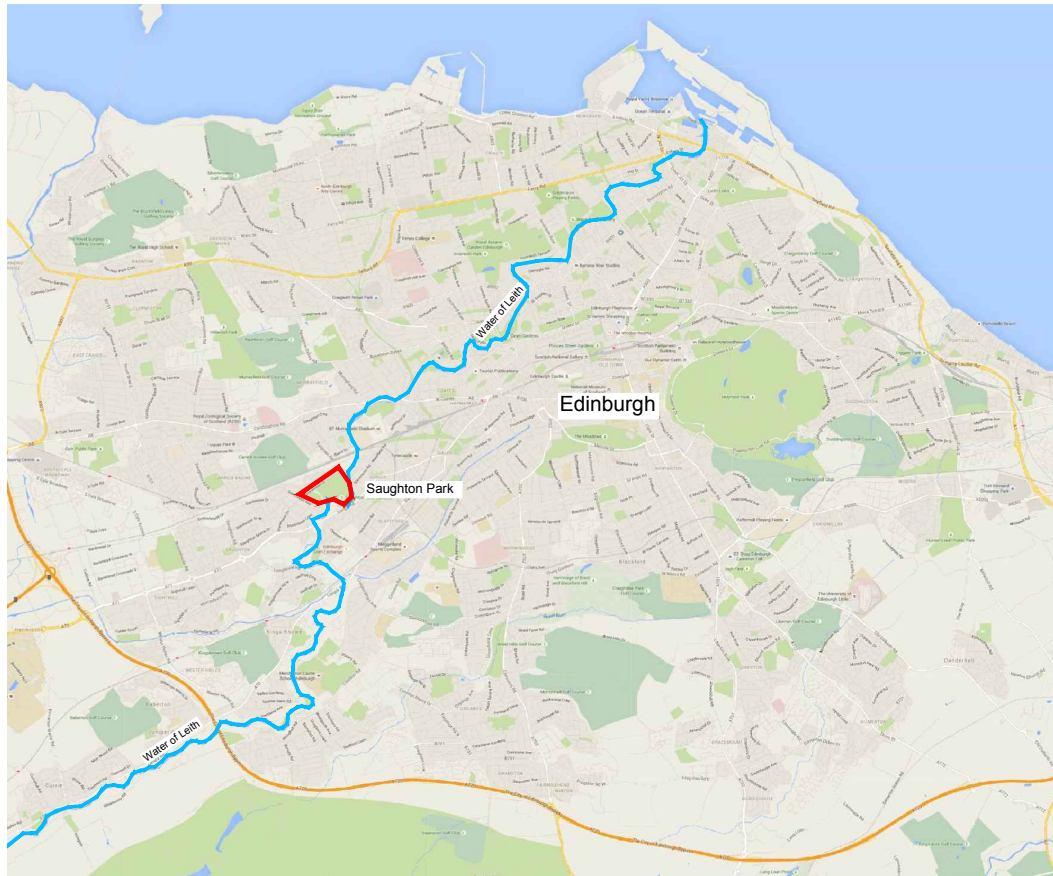


Figure 1.1 Saughton Park in the context of the city of Edinburgh (Map Source: Google Maps, 2016).

Saughton Park is one of Edinburgh’s ‘premier parks’, meaning it has the potential to attract visitors from across the city (City of Edinburgh Council, 2009). It is bordered by the Water of Leith, and sits between the Gorgie, Balgreen, Stenhouse and Saughton areas of the city. These areas differ to some extent from Edinburgh as a whole, in having a lower proportion of children; a proportionally larger non-white population than the rest of the city (9.8% to 8.3%); and a relatively high eastern European population (City of Edinburgh Council & Jura Consultants, 2015, p. 25). The primary school I worked with lies adjacent to Saughton Park, and consequently, the majority of the children were frequent users of the park and well acquainted with the local area.

The park has served an important historic function for the city, beginning in 1623 when it was the Saughtonhall private estate, leased to the Institute for the Recovery of the Insane as a ‘private lunatic asylum designed for the reception of patients of the higher ranks’ (The City of Edinburgh Council and Partners, 2015, p. 6). With this, the estate became the setting for the pioneering of

therapeutic horticulture, and origin of occupational therapy. In 1900, the estate was purchased by the Edinburgh Corporation to create a public park, and Saughton Park subsequently hosted the 1908 Scottish National Exhibition. During this, a diverse range of activities took place, such as concerts, exhibitions of the latest technologies, a large helter skelter, and a Senegalese village (illustrated in Figure 1.2) (Edinburgh City Libraries, 2015). After the exhibition, many of the temporary structures were removed, and it reverted to a public park, but continued to display the horticultural designs of the original Saughtonhall Estate. At this point in history, it was said to rival Edinburgh's Royal Botanic Garden as a major visitor attraction (The City of Edinburgh Council and Partners, 2015).



Figure 1.2 Photos taken of the Scottish National Exhibition at Saughton Park in 1908 (Edinburgh City Libraries, 2015)

Despite its grand origins and important historic legacy, the park has fallen into decline in recent decades. The grand Saughtonhall became riddled with dry rot, and was destroyed in a fire in 1950. Subsequently, following vandalism, the bandstand was dismantled and placed in storage in 1987. The addition of an unsympathetically designed sports complex in the 1970s, and replacement of the original winter garden in 1986 have arguably sped its deterioration. The loss of attractions, exacerbated by sustained decline in capital investment, and lack of promotion of the park's location and heritage, has led to a significant decline in visitor numbers. Nevertheless, vestiges of the park's heritage remain, and the integrity of the walled gardens is largely intact.

Whilst Saughton Park is in danger of losing its premier park status, it is still a valued community recreational space, and the City of Edinburgh Council are taking steps to reverse its decline (The City of Edinburgh Council and Partners, 2015). The park is currently characterised by three compartments, illustrated in Figure 1.3. These are:

- The sports park to the north comprises football pitches, skatepark and playground.
- The Water of Leith Corridor to the south is characterised by parkland and riverine habitats.
- The Walled Garden sits in-between and is defined by a series of garden compartments such as the Rose Garden, Winter Garden and Italian Garden.

As a result, a range of users use the park for varying reasons across different times of day, and different seasons. The purpose of the restoration project is to:

‘restore Saughton Park to its former glory as a major visitor destination which showcases horticultural excellence and offers exceptional recreational and visitor facilities, opportunities for learning and volunteering and engenders a sense of pride in the neighbouring communities.’ (The City of Edinburgh Council and Partners, 2015, p. 1)

To do this, the Council designed a masterplan for a restored park in 2008, and secured an investment of £392,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund’s (HLF) ‘Park for People’ scheme in 2013. They used this to employ two dedicated members of staff to work on coordinating a second round bid for £3.8 million, and hire a range of consultants to work on a fully-costed, and community-informed masterplan.



Figure 1.3 Different compartments of Saughton Park (Source Map: OpenStreetmap, 2016; Photo Source: The City of Edinburgh Council and Partners, 2015)

In January 2016, the HLF awarded Saughton Park project funding, and with match funding from the City of Edinburgh Council, the total budget for restoration stands at £5.8 million. This process stood as an important backdrop to engage with primary school children about their place, and to understand first-hand the methods, trials and tribulations of involving children in a planning-related project. The children that participated in this research commented and made suggestions for this project at its varying stages, and also contributed their thoughts and ideas about where they live, their route to school, and the extent of their independent mobility.

1.6 Thesis Outline

Following on from the introduction presented here, chapter two tackles literature in the field of childhood history, sociology, geography, and the evolution of the UNCRC as a political instrument. It attends to the previous research conducted on each participation right (Articles 12 and 31), focusing on what this means for children of the middle childhood age category. It also draws on current UK reporting procedures, and the policy and legislation across the devolved nations, with a particular focus on Scotland. This sets the context of childhood in its present state, and the current challenges facing those working towards a more rights-respecting society.

Chapter three moves away from a sociological focus on children, and onto planning theory and practice. It explores its evolution over time, and the current dominating trends in how it is practiced, and debates within the academic field. In particular, it looks at participatory planning theories as rooted in conceptions of deliberative democracy (Forester, 1989; Healey, 1997), and then draws on research into children's participation in planning. This sets out what has been done and where gaps lie, paying particular attention to the geography of the literature, and lack of focus on the UK, and especially the Scottish context. It ends by considering some of the work on methods development that can inform the rest of this study.

Chapter four pulls the threads of chapters two and three together to address unresolved issues in the preceding debates, by addressing political theories and the idea of power. By exploring Habermas's (1990) communicative action theory, the review assesses the extent to which it can capture a right of children to participate in the process (Article 12), and brings in Foucault's governmentality (Foucault, 1991) and heterotopia (Foucault, 1986) to touch on a different view of power, that offers a potentially more inclusive perspective for planning. It then uses this new understanding to question some assumptions of the previous two chapters, before developing a

theoretical framework to carry through in chapters six to nine, where I present the empirical findings.

Chapter five describes and explains the methodology and methods for this study. It begins with epistemological and ontological bases, before introducing the data collection methods as part of the Saughton Park restoration case study. From here it explains what I did and how I did it in terms of classroom work with children; community meetings attended; interviews carried out; and the policies and documents I examined as part of a critical discourse analysis. The chapter also reflects on research ethics, some of the difficulties and complexities of research with human (particularly child) participants, and the impact I had on the field. It ends by exploring my approach to data analysis and explaining how the data feeds into the remaining chapters.

Chapter six examines the results of my work with the primary school children and the view and practice of professionals, to construct an understanding of the area local to the participating children through the frame of Foucault's (1986) heterotopia. It looks at both child and adult interpretations of place, and suggests how seemingly incompatible uses for space can in fact exist simultaneously, by taking a more fluid interpretation of public space and the people within it.

Chapter seven investigates the process of planning, as conducted by three local planning authorities in Scotland, and the Scottish Government. It uses a model of participation developed in chapter four, to assess the extent to which children have been meaningfully involved in planning processes. With this, it evaluates the effectiveness of certain methods and approaches.

Chapter eight turns to the policy and practices of local and national government in facilitating children's participation in the process and in place. It draws again on governmentality through critical discourse analysis that addresses the convergence and divergence of planning and children's policies in Scotland. I evaluate these policies in light of children's rights, and make some suggestion of their implications for the future of children's rights in planning.

Chapter nine focuses on the gaps in policy and practice eluded to in chapters six to eight. I scrutinise my own approach and methods to involving children in the Saughton Park restoration project, and in this research, with the aim of making useful recommendations to progress children's participation in planning. In this chapter, I also explore Welsh approaches to providing for children's play, which offer an alternative approach to that of Scotland. I evaluate, and make some suggestion of their implications for the future of children's rights in planning.

Chapter ten concludes this thesis by reflecting across the previous chapters and explicitly answering the research questions in section 1.4. It addresses the strengths and weaknesses of the study, as well as where gaps for future research lie. It also makes some comments on the direction of Scottish policy for children's rights now and in the future, and the role the UNCRC could have in informing built environment policy and practice.

1.7 Conclusion

Human rights give all people a set of internationally recognised protections that acknowledge the sanctity of all human life. On top of this, certain marginalised groups are given extended rights, and with the UNCRC this includes children. Despite this, such rights as the right to a view in matters that affect them (Article 12) and to play (Article 31) can be violated due to a lack of understanding and consideration of what their rights mean throughout society. So far the town planning system in the UK has paid little attention to this issue, which this thesis now aims to address within the realm of middle childhood in Scotland.

This chapter has set out the research problem, aim and research questions the thesis answers. It described in broad terms the literature, theory and data that will be explored in the remaining chapters, and explained the content of each. Chapter two now moves forward to consider the existing literature on this topic, by beginning with an exploration of what childhood is, and what it means in the modern day in the context of children's rights, the built environment, and planning.

Chapter Two: Children, Childhood, and the Right to Participate

This review explores the social, spatial, and political construction of childhood in the western world, framing it through history to understand mainstream, modern conceptions of childhood, and the increasing influence of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Understanding these notions is helpful in constructing a view of childhood competency that allows the convention's tenets of participation to be mobilised in participatory processes and outcomes. The chapter then turns towards summarising the current state of policy and legislation in relation to children's rights in Scotland, and makes some comparisons with other nations of the UK. This sets the basis for exploring adults and children's participation in planning in chapter three.

2.1 The Social Construction of Childhood

Childhood is not a singular and static term. It encapsulates a wide range of states of being, with children in their earliest years having significantly different needs and views of the world than children in their teenage years. Likewise, views of what childhood is (and should be) have changed over time, to the extent that social historians contest when the concept of childhood came to light in the western world (Ariès, 1962; Cunningham, 2005; Frijhoff, 2012). The history of childhood has been mostly constructed by accounts given by adults, and predominantly from a male perspective. Conversely, feminist researchers have explored mother-child relations over the course of history, but generally focus on how mothers view the child, and not vice versa (Oakley, 1994). This has made it difficult for historians to bring to light authenticity in what it has been like to be a child throughout history (Cunningham & Morpurgo, 2006). Existing accounts can thus only make partial claims to the changing experience of childhood.

What historians have brought to the fore, is the changing perceptions of children's agency in public and family life over time. Before 1870, children frequently worked in factories in the UK, and only in 1880 did schooling for children between the ages of five and ten become compulsory (Education Act 1870). This suggests the disparity between adulthood and childhood we know today was once more fluid and difficult to define, leading Ariès (1996) to speculate that children used to be viewed

as mini-adults, rather than as fundamentally different. The relatively recent discovery of modern childhood has consequently transformed what adults do and do not permit children to do. On one hand, this discovery celebrates the difference between child and adult nature, giving children the time and space to develop without the stresses of work. On the other hand, it has emphasised the differences in competency between child and adult, and influenced a range of social, spatial and political practices that place children in a precarious and ambivalent position. Today, this precarity is known as the being vs. becoming debate, postulating whether children matter equally to adults in the present, or are to be valued more for what they may become in the future as adults of the future (Qvortrup, 1994; Cunningham & Morpurgo, 2006).

The modern conception of childhood developed first amongst wealthy families in the Victorian era, who no longer faced high levels of infant mortality, and had no need for their children to supplement the family income. Consequently, they could devote time and effort to educating them (Cunningham & Morpurgo, 2006). Alongside this, with the industrial revolution in the 18th century, and the rapid urbanisation it entailed, there began to be significantly higher concentrations of children in urban environments. This, along with their increasing employment in factories, meant children became more visible in public life than ever before. The move of children from the private environment to the public environment increased interactions between unrelated children and adults, and allowed the elite ruling class increasing opportunity to witness the activities of children from less affluent backgrounds (Cunningham, 1992).

The development of a conception of childhood as distinct from adulthood, and the increasing presence of children in hazardous work environments brought concern for children's health and development. At the same time, it raised concern for the deviance of children, and the potential threats they brought to public order (Jenks, 2005). Children were therefore removed from the factories, and universal education became an important element of modern, western society. These societal changes also gave rise to organisations concerned with child poverty, neglect and abuse (Cunningham & Morpurgo, 2006). However, the problematisation of children that did not fit contemporary views of the modern child created a dichotomy between the children that needed protection, and the children that adults needed protection from. Jenks (1996) refers to this dichotomy as the difficulty of the Apollian and Dionysian child. The Apollian child encapsulates the romantic view of childhood, emphasising innocence and vulnerability. The Dionysian child, in contrast, encapsulates adult fears of children born deviant, who place adults in a vulnerable position. Children in this situation are therefore classified as undeserving of the special protection given to Apollian children, excluding them on the grounds that they are 'un-childlike'.

Differences in perceptions of children persist today, and often fall along age and class lines. For instance, adults are more likely to consider young children harmless when they misunderstand adult rules and conventions, but adolescents may be demonised for the same infringements. This could be as simple as older children gathering in public space (Cahill, 1990, p. 339). Indeed, children in poverty, who are more likely to be visible in public space, are often designated the Dionysian conception (Thomson & Philo, 2004; Day & Wager, 2010; Hörschelmann & Van Blerk, 2012). This illustrates how the move of children from the private to the public environment rendered them subjects for political intervention and control. However, as Cunningham (1992, 2005) laments, the construction of childhood in the UK is intrinsically tied with the history of child poverty.

2.2 Human Rights for Children

The plight of poor children during and after the industrial revolution gave rise to movements to emancipate them. Following this, political interventions into the lives of children and families throughout the late 19th century and early 20th century were fuelled by a mixture of social and political concern for how children were raised, and generally coincided with the end of wars (Rose, 1999; Cunningham & Morpurgo, 2006). Of particular note, the evacuation of children from inner city areas during WW2 to safer, more rural areas led to increasing public awareness of the disparity in the health and wellbeing of children in rich and poor households. This contributed to a post-war focus in the UK on improving the lives of children, which was instrumental in moulding the modern welfare state (Cunningham, 2005).

Movements to improve the lives of children in the UK were mirrored by the work of other governments across the world, along with the formation of non-governmental organisations, and the work of committed, influential individuals. As a result, several forerunners to today's children's rights were established in the 20th century by the League of Nations, and then the United Nations. What distinguishes the modern day UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) however is its commitment to children's political rights. Whilst its forerunners detailed the responsibilities of adults towards children, the UNCRC has brought a paradigmatic shift (in theory, and increasingly in practice), particularly with Article 12, known as 'respect for the views of the child' (Skelton, 2007; Woodhead, 2010). This implored (on an international level) for the first time that adults should recognise children as having their own independent thoughts and feelings, which could contradict the views of their parents or governments. This:

'requires that children, including the very youngest children, be respected as persons in their own right. Young children should be recognised as active members of families,

communities and societies, with their own concerns, interests and points of view' (UN General Comment 7, 2005)

The need to include political rights for children recognises the unfortunate ability of adults to manipulate children for their own agenda. For instance, the Hitler Youth and League of Young Maidens in Nazi Germany mobilised a population of impressionable children to meet political goals that were not their own. The UNCRC therefore gives children protection independent of local political contexts and social ideals, and emphasises the inter-connectedness of protection, provision and participation. These fall within the guiding principles of non-discrimination (Article 2), pursuing the best interests of the child (Article 3), and respect for the views of the child (Article 12).

Though the UNCRC is the most widely ratified human rights treaty in the world, it is not universally implemented in law and policy in the states parties. Indeed, critics have attacked the western ideals that the convention entails (Stephens, 1995; Wyness et al., 2004; Skelton, 2007), and questioned the universality of elements such as the need to value the views of the child (Liebel & Saadi, 2010; Trum-Danso, 2010). Moreover, the ambiguity of many of the articles have been viewed as both problematic and advantageous in ensuring its implementation (Wyness et al., 2004; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). This leaves much of the implementation of the UNCRC up for question and investigation, which researchers have taken on largely through the establishment of a new strand of sociology.

2.3 The New Sociology of Childhood

With the advent of human rights for children, and an increased societal concern with child poverty, the need to study children and their everyday lives has come to the fore. James & Prout (1997) define the new sociology of childhood in their seminal book 'Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood'. They recognise that children have often been excluded from sociological endeavour as independent subjects, with studies of children focusing on developmental psychology, and therefore in defining what is normal and abnormal childhood development. These studies give rise to a view that children are predominantly human becomings, with defined pathways to adulthood (Qvortrup, 1994), and this affects the dominant view that society has of children in the present. By acknowledging that children have rights, and independent agency in a variety of settings, the new sociology of childhood emphasises the value of the views of the child, the heterogeneity of children, and capacity for children to actively participate in research. It also places demands on childhood researchers to be self-reflexive and acknowledge how their practice constructs political discourse about children (James & Prout,

1997).

With the greater sociological attention to children, geography scholars have increasingly also turned their attention towards them. For example, James et al., (1998) devote a chapter to space in their paradigm-defining book 'Theorizing Childhood'. The socio-spatial study of children is now referred to as Children's Geographies and is thought to have developed from the human geographer Roger Hart's (1979) influential thesis 'Children's Experience of Place', and the Unicef led project 'Growing up in Cities' (Lynch, 1977). With this, researchers increasingly strive to move away from the conception of children as 'adults in the making' or human becomings, to be valued as human beings (Harden et al., 2000). Moreover, recent discourse promotes a dual approach of viewing children as simultaneously beings and becomings, recognising how children view themselves, the emphases in the UNCRC (Uprichard, 2008), and the modern view of adulthood as also being in a continual state of becoming (Lee, 2001; Gallagher, 2004). These two fields open up avenues to critically explore the social, spatial and political mediators of children's participation.

2.4 Children's participation in decision-making (Article 12)

Article 12 of the UNCRC states:

'1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.' and

'2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.'

This right is often shortened to 'respect for the views of the child' or 'the right to participate', recognising that children's voices are easy to exclude from private and public matters. Indeed, the value of bringing children's views into decision-making processes has been historically difficult to advocate. This is a result of ingrained attitudes around children, encapsulated by the dominating view of children as human becomings, as well as assumptions about what children are interested in (Elsley, 2004; Knowles-Yanez, 2005).

Apollian views of childhood can render adults sceptical of a child's qualification to participate, and over-emphasise their vulnerability to corruption or disillusionment if the process does not go their way. Linked with this, can come a view that children's opinions are shaped most strongly by the adults around them, and so there is nothing that a child can say that cannot already be said more eloquently by an adult (Lee, 2001). In contrast, Dionysian children represent the abnormal and disordered child, which could negate adults from seeing their views as valid (Kulynych, 2001). Indeed, 'the experience of childhood, while universal is also transitory; the identity of "child" is a temporary one within other, generally longer-lasting identities' (Gillespie, 2013, p. 66). This distinguishes children from other marginalised groups in society, as adults can reason that having once been a child, they can understand what children want and need, without gathering their views. These attitudes lock children within a vulnerability cycle, whereby they are not listened to because they are assumed to have nothing worthwhile to say, and because their views are never heard, it becomes legitimate to assume their opinions are invalid (Lee, 1999; Lansdown, 2010). Such stances can be difficult for individuals with a commitment to the UNCRC to counter, meaning that whilst the academic field is committed to viewing children as active agents in their own lives, the difficulty lies in bringing this into fixed institutions and everyday practice (Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010; Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

Countering negative attitudes around children's participation, research shows that their involvement in decision-making is beneficial in a variety of ways. First of all is the individual value to the child, who through having their views taken into account can develop self-esteem, and an appreciation of democracy (Hart, 1992; Sinclair, 2000; Matthews & Save the Children Fund (Great Britain), 2001; Tisdall et al., 2006, 2008; Tisdall, 2010; Percy-Smith, 2010). The second major advantage is that, as experts in their own lives, children can bring insights that an adult may never gauge alone (Sinclair, 2000; Elsley, 2004; Lauwers & Vanderstede, 2005). For instance, children view the world in a more experiential way than adults, and can have particularly strong ties to their local neighbourhood (Chawla, 1992; Cele, 2005). Indeed, being smaller in stature means children can sometimes access places adults cannot, and see things that never catch the attention of adults (Hart, 1979; Cahill, 1990; Ward, 1990). By bringing the child's view to the foreground, decision-makers become more aware of the world around them, and how it affects different types of people (Hart, 1992). Indeed, effective dialogue between children and adults can benefit intergenerational relationships (Hugh Matthews et al.; Steele, 2005; Mannion, 2007; Thomas, 2007). These bring benefits in both the present and future.

In response to the varying reasons that adults may seek children's participation, several scholars have produced typologies or approaches to children's participation (Sinclair, 2000; Matthews & Save the Children Fund (Great Britain), 2001; Francis & Lorenzo, 2002). Perhaps most significant,

Francis and Lorenzo (2002) take an historical review of children's participation in Italy to devise seven realms of participation (Figure 2.1). Whilst each of these realms has merits and situations where they may be especially applicable, it is the 'Rights Realm' that is the most holistic and able to draw on the other realms as appropriate. For instance, a commitment to children's rights in both the process and outcome of a project requires an adult to devise methods that are sensitive to children's existing capabilities; promote children as active citizens of their own lives; and find political means to further children's rights beyond the singular instance of children's participation (Horelli, 1997).

- 1 Romantic realm** Projects dating back to the 1960s and 1970s which promote an image of children as able to envision and create their own environments without the involvement of adults.
- 2 Advocacy realm** Projects where children are predominantly planned for, with their apparent needs advocated through adults.
- 3 Needs realm** Predominantly projects by urban planners that are increasingly moving towards more 'research based' approaches that can be identified with the social science of children.
- 4 Learning realm** Projects which involve teachers and environmental educators without necessarily utilising research knowledge. The focus is on the process of changing perceptions and skills rather than physical places.
- 5 Rights realm** Projects are closely related to the United Nations and similar international organisations, where the focus tends to be on children's rights rather than on environmental needs.
- 6 Institutionalisation realm** An increasingly popular approach, it relates to international child advocate organisations and city officials who have been forced to involve children.
- 7 Proactive realm** This is children's participation with vision, relating to projects that strive to find a balance between focusing on empowering children through spontaneous and child-centred modes of participation, and focusing on making substantial changes.

(Francis and Lorenzo 2002)

Figure 2.1 The Seven Realms of Participation from Francis and Lorenzo (2002). Figure originates in Hartung and Malone (2010, p.29)

To clarify how children could participate in decision-making from a rights-based perspective, Hart (1992) and Shier (2001) introduce particularly influential models of participation. Hart's (1992) ladder of children's participation is perhaps best known, and was based on Arnstein's (1969) adult-envisioned ladder of citizen participation, used extensively in wider participation literature (see chapter three page 42). The ladder, as adapted for children (Figure 2.2), includes rungs that address not only the quality of children's involvement, but also the extent of adult direction in their activities. The ladder shows that even when adults have good intentions to involve children in processes, they may:

- manipulate their voices for their own gain;
- use a project with children to decorate their approach, by adding it to a list of things they have done, without substantiating what children have contributed; or

- make only tokenistic attempts to respond to children's views.

Within the higher levels of the ladder, two rungs denote a limited approach to their real participation. In the lower rungs of 'assigned but informed', the participants are given a strict remit of what they can be involved in, but they are informed of the reasoning why, and do have some genuine level of influence in what they are participating in. In the higher rung of 'consulted but informed', the participants are asked for their views and ideas on pre-determined topics. For instance, this could be a planner asking children about their local area in a structured way to focus on particular issues, and the children would have a fair chance to contribute their opinions on these topics. However, they would not be able to change the topic of the session if they felt another issue was more relevant to them.

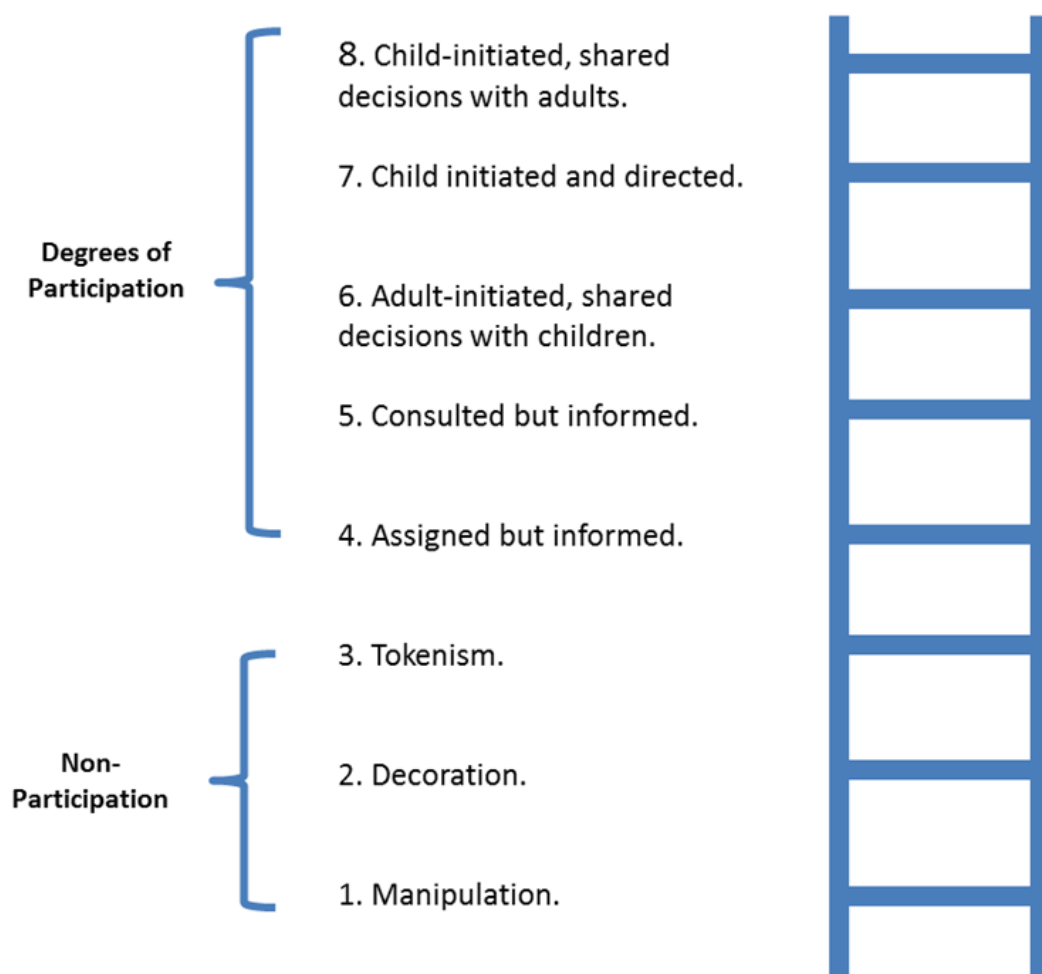


Figure 2.2 Hart's (1992) ladder of participation (redrawn from original)

The higher rungs of the ladder correlate with a partnership approach where the child participants have a greater chance of making their own, or shared decisions, with support from adults. Hart is careful to note that a higher rung on the ladder does not necessarily mean better participation, but that different levels are appropriate in different contexts. In particular, he notes that the highest

rung is likely only achievable with older age groups, whilst rung seven is most likely to occur in an adventure-play setting, rather than in formal decision-making processes. Whilst this is one weakness of the ladder, its ability to recognise the varied ways children can participate has been instrumental in establishing children's meaningful involvement in a variety of projects. Especially important is its ability to draw attention to what is not genuine participation, for children and young people are often aware of when they are being manipulated, or their participation is tokenistic (Skelton, 2007; Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010; Kränzl-Nagl & Zartler, 2010; Mannion, 2012). Indeed, participation exercises can be commissioned on the promise of change, but may lose funding or political will (van-Wehl, 2013), and in many ways, poor participatory projects can be more damaging than not seeking children's participation at all, as it may lead to misunderstanding, distrust, and disillusionment (Hart, 1992, 1997; Shier, 2001; Lewars, 2010).

Despite its influence, Hart's (1992) ladder shows 'what is done, rather than how it could be done' (Le Borgne, 2014, p. 26) and has a tendency to focus on individual projects rather than a process of long-term, ongoing commitment and dialogue. To address this, Shier (2001) proposes another influential model. His 'pathways to participation' originate from work to involve children as consultants in play and leisure activities. The model similarly uses a gradated process of participation over five levels:

1. Children are listened to;
2. Children are supported in expressing their views;
3. Children's views are taken into account;
4. Children are involved in decision-making processes;
5. Children share power and responsibility for decision-making. (Shier, 2001, p. 110).

Shier identifies three stages of commitment at each level: *Openings*, *Opportunities* and *Obligations* (Figure 2.3). These levels of commitment identify when an organisation or individual is *willing* to allow children to participate in the process. Opening occurs when a worker makes a personal commitment or statement of intent to work with children, creating a potential for participation, even if no opportunity currently exists. However, when there are the resources and skills available, an opportunity opens up. An obligation is established when an agreement exists between organisations and staff to enable a certain level of participation by children, and this becomes embedded in the policy and practice of an organisation.

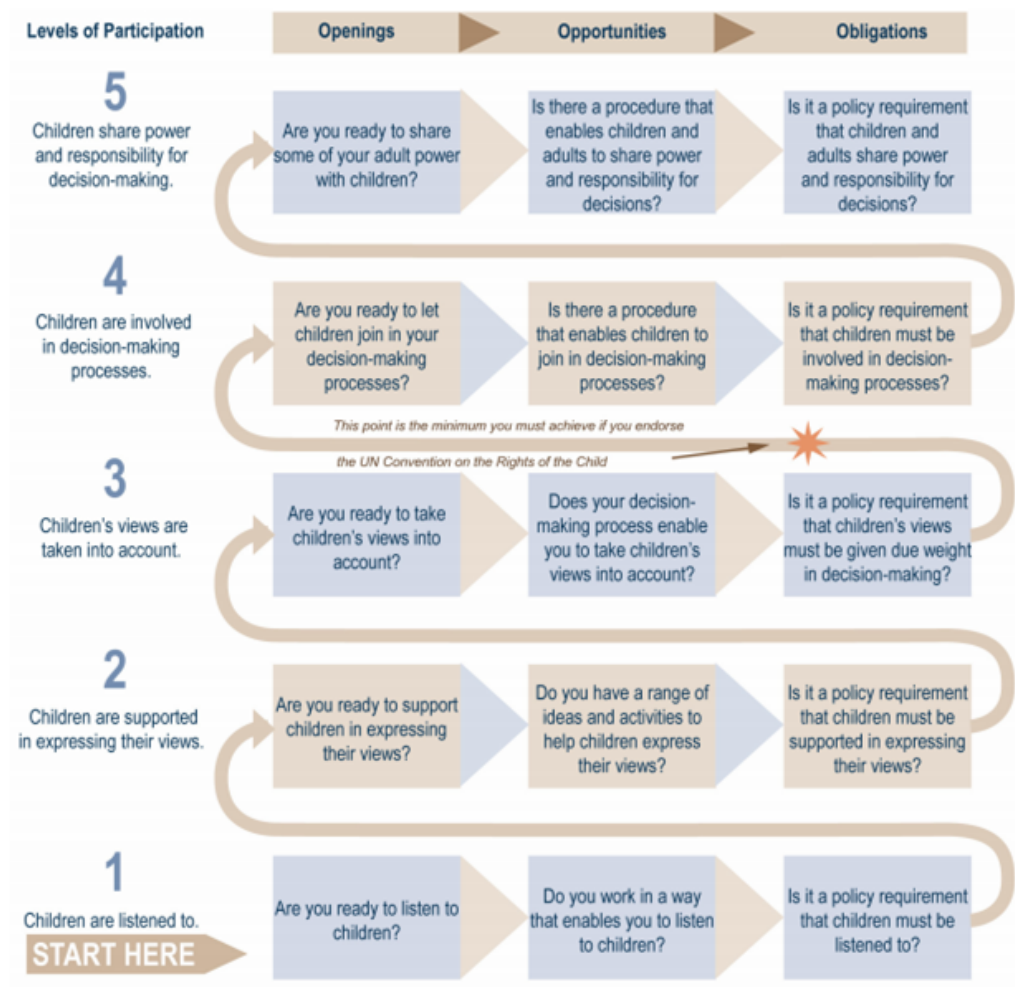


Figure 2.3 Shier's (2001;111) Pathways to Participation

Shier argues that to ensure children are supported in expressing their views (level two) adults working with them must attempt to overcome the barriers that prevent children's views from being expressed. He notes 'there is no point in enabling children to express their views if they are not going to be taken into account' (Shier, 2001, p. 113). Level three then ensures decision makers take the children's views into account, and only here does the process meet the UNCRC. At level four, children are involved in decision-making processes, which indicate a move from a consultative to an instrumental role. This corresponds to Hart's (1992) level five, as both authors consider consultation a legitimate form of participation, with the position of children either strengthened or supported. However, children at this level do not have any decision-making power of their own. Finally, in contrast to Hart's (1992) ladder, Shier's (2001) model has children making decisions independently of adults in its top rung.

Hart's (1992) ladder and Shier's (2001) pathways are useful tools for individuals and organisations concerned with engaging children in decision-making processes, but they are not a panacea for

effective engagement. As Hart (2008, p. 29) expresses:

‘I see the ladder lying in the long grass at the end of an orchard at the end of the season. It has served its purpose. I look forward to the next season for there are so many different routes up through the branches and better ways to talk about how children can climb into meaningful, and shall we say fruitful, ways of working with others.’

Moreover, Malone & Hartung (2010) lament the lack of theoretical development in children’s participation over the last 20 years, and cite an over-reliance on Hart’s ladder. The step approach of both models is inadequate to encapsulate the complexity of involving children in decision-making in the full range of contexts and situations where children’s involvement is a right. Indeed, by placing the partnership working at a higher level, they suggest this is always the best course of action, when in many situations this is an inappropriate aspiration.

Criticism aside, both Hart’s (1992) and Shier’s (2001) models provide a bench line basis, particularly for individuals and organisations new to the concept of children’s participation. Malone & Hartung (2010) propose that children’s participation is overdone and under theorised, which whilst perhaps true in some fields, does not mean that children’s participation has become common-place in others. For instance, even in societies where children’s rights are more mainstream than in the UK, children’s participation in urban planning is still much misunderstood and poorly enacted (Freeman, 2006; Cele & van der Burgt, 2013a). Simple, even step-based, models can therefore be useful in beginning conversations and making a commitment to children’s participation. However, in situations where policy does not require children’s participation, or there are limited opportunities to involve them, it is not possible to progress far in Shier’s (2001) model, making Hart’s (1992) ladder more useful in this regard.

2.4.1 Structuring children’s participation in the process

Despite a growing awareness and commitment to children becoming involved in decision-making processes, contentions remain in what it means in practice. Many researchers are concerned by the tendency to conflate the need for children’s participation with a need to replicate formal, adult structures for children (Malone & Percy-Smith, 2001; Matthews, 2001; Matthews & Limb, 2003; Lansdown, 2010; Malone & Hartung, 2010; McGinley & Grieve, 2010; Percy-Smith, 2010). Organisations such as youth parliaments and youth councils have value in certain elements of children’s representation, yet as part of the institutionalisation realm of participation (Francis &

Lorenzo, 2002), they do not automatically encapsulate the inclusive intent of the UNCRC. These structures are mostly reserved for older age groups, with little formal representation for children in the middle-childhood category (aged 6-12), who still possess the competence to participate, but are unlikely to thrive in a formal atmosphere (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013b; Alderson, 2010; Crowley & Skeels, 2010; Berglund, 2008; Cele, 2006). This means that the views of certain teenagers, and often young adults, can be conflated with the views of all children and young people.

The types of children that become involved in formal structures is another issue in assessing their value. The children attracted to councils or parliaments tend to be the most confident and articulate examples of their age group, who are arguably more adult-like than their peers (Cairns, 2006). This prioritises the voices of children who have the most in common with adults, and thus dilutes some of the initial value in children's participation. Conversely, these structures might form to include the voice of marginalised children only on the issues that distinguish them, such as ethnicity (Tisdall et al., 2008; Martin & Franklin, 2010; Turkie, 2010). This can lead to a lack of opportunities for the majority of children to express a view (Nairn et al., 2006), or limits the potential for marginalised children (such as the disabled) to discuss issues not related to their distinguishing characteristics (Martin & Franklin, 2010; Turkie, 2010).

Youth parliaments and councils carry forward many of the same democratic weaknesses of their adult equivalents. They can be technocratic and focus on process over outcomes (Tisdall et al., 2008); representatives are often elected on very low voter turnout; many potential voters are unaware or indifferent to the existence of a formal structure; and the existence of a child-focused organisation does not guarantee they will be heard and appreciated in wider political forums (Cairns, 2006). As Skelton (2007 p.177) questions:

'Is something of the vitality and creativity of children and young people lost when they participate in adult structures? If pre-existing models have marginalised children then unless there is fundamental change within the institutional structures children's participation will appear as tokenism, no matter how often this accusation is denied.'

These issues complicate the meaningful involvement of children in decision-making, but do not mean they are invalid. Indeed, as in the adult world, the difficulties of democratic representation should open up further opportunities for citizen involvement that are more suited to engaging a wider set of voices (Davis et al., 2014; Tisdall, 2013; Elsley & Tisdall, 2012; Hinton et al., 2008; Tisdall et al., 2008; Tisdall & Davis, 2004).

To extend the right of children to participate, the growing academic consensus is to view the participation of children as going beyond the formal processes that make decisions about their lives. Percy-Smith (2010) describes the contradiction in the way that a well-respected member of a youth council may be regarded in the formal process of participation, with the discrimination they may face in public space. Like Hart's (1992) observations about participation in adventure play, participation in the most genuine way involves children being valued as part of a community, capable of making their own decisions where appropriate, whilst being supported by adults to express a view or make decisions in more formal contexts. Therefore, to begin extending Article 12 and its theorisation, it is important to understand how children participate in their everyday lives, and how this relates to perceptions of them, and formal decision-making processes (Kulynych, 2001; Malone & Percy-Smith, 2001; Hinton, 2008; Malone & Hartung, 2010; Lester, 2013). This is encapsulated by geo-political scholars as advancing children's macro-political opportunities in the formal processes of participation (or Political participation), as well as their micro-political opportunities in their embodiment of everyday space (or political participation) (Philo & Smith, 2003; Kallio, 2008; Skelton, 2010; Kallio & Häkli, 2011).

2.5 Children's Participation in Everyday life (Article 31)

Article 31 of the UNCRC states:

- '1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.
2. States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity.' (UN, 1989)

This right is often shortened to 'the right to play', recognising that play has inherent value to children's lives in the present and in the future, but like 'respect for the views of the child', it is not universally understood and prioritised. Children's play is easy for adults to dismiss as frivolous, yet despite the narrow framing in everyday language, Article 31 refers to the wider extent of children's movements, freedoms and participation in everyday life, that are necessarily tied to more formal views of participation.

A propensity to play is characteristic of childhood across the world and throughout history (Tindall & Stevens, 1977; Schaefer & Reid, 2001). Despite this, the cultural value placed on it is highly variable, ranging from a tolerance of the 'needless' play of children (without encouragement), to a

strong emphasis on adults and children playing together (Gaskins et al., 2007). The nature of play has been investigated from a number of disciplinary stand points. For instance, developmental psychologists see it as an important part of human development, playworkers view it as an essential element of being a child, whilst evolutionary psychology and anthropology link it to the very foundations of human culture (Nielsen, 2012; Whitebread et al., 2012). Indeed, the stage of middle childhood exists in humans to further our understanding of the complexities of the world, and help children adapt to different circumstances (Lyons et al., 2007). This makes play more about the wider endeavours of children, than a discrete activity that directly contrasts with the work of adults. In response, Russell and Lester (2013) develop a view that instead of children playing conveniently in certain places and at certain times, they in fact wayfare through environments. This means that play is encapsulated in all children's movements, and is an inherent part of what they do. For instance, Cele (2005, 2006) describes in her observations of walking interviews with children in Sweden, that they continuously interact in complex ways with the environment as they walk home from school.

Play researchers are increasingly concerned that misunderstandings of the term play are leading it to become instrumentalised by adults, to produce outcomes beyond its inherent value to children (Powell, 2009; Whitebread et al., 2012; Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2014; Voce, 2015). The dominance of developmental psychology in research on children has arguably contributed to this, and placated the institutionalisation of childhood experiences for the sake of increasing pre-defined developmental outcomes (Smith, 2014). Additionally, children have historically played extensively outdoors in natural environments. In modern society however, adults often perceive outdoor environments as dangerous, and redirect play towards designated spaces, or relegate it to a private, indoor activity. Consequently, the wider spatial implications of Article 31 in relation to children's freedom of movement can be misunderstood. Linked to this, recent research suggests outdoor play is a minority activity for children in the UK (McKendrick et al., 2014; The Wildlife Trusts, 2015).

2.5.1 Urban vs. Rural Childhoods

Important to understanding how children use and experience place, is developing an understanding of where children grow up and what these environments mean for their everyday lives. For instance, the rural is often pictured as the idyll for raising children, playing off the romantic ideas of innocence and the countryside (Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Jones & Barker, 2000; Jones, 2002). However, rural environments often have their own restrictions, such as poor public transport and limited leisure options, that studies show do not always provide children with the opportunities their urban counterparts can enjoy (Matthews et al., 2000; Davey and Lundy, 2011). Meanwhile, the

urban environment, where the majority of childhoods are now experienced, is often pictured as dangerous or corrupting, and where children need increasing protection. The limited personal mobility this affords has a range of potentially negative effects on both children and adults, such as increasing mental and physical health problems (Jackson et al., 2008; Steiner, 2009; Strife & Downey, 2009), and adult intolerance of children playing in public space (Dickerson, 2013; Percy-Smith, 2010). This indicates that prevailing norms and ideas of the ideal childhood could be denying children's place in the urban, denying them opportunities in the rural, and hindering the development of rights-respecting spatial and land use policies.

Hörschelmann & Van Blerk (2012) put forward an extensive argument and evidence that cities are more than just context for children's lives; they are shaped by them, but also provide a structure to the culture and meaning of growing up in the contemporary world. However, 'Out of placeness' has been coined to describe how children are seen in cities (Sibley, 1995; Connolly & Ennew, 1996; Hörschelmann & Van Blerk, 2012). Unaccompanied children in the urban landscape are often viewed through the Dionysian frame, and can become targets of adult intervention such as surveillance, and police 'stop and search' tactics. In response to such negative perceptions, some city authorities have prioritised widening their appeal to families (Boucher, 2011; van den Berg, 2013). Van den Berg (2013b) describes how children have been used in Rotterdam as a city marketing strategy to attract families to settle there. However, the city's policies implicitly aim to attract the 'right type' of families (with Apollian children), whilst problem families (with their Dionysian children) are pushed to the, often less affluent, outskirts.

Linked to class divides and the dichotomy between Apollian and Dionysian children, living in deprived and affluent areas of cities often correlates with a child's environmental experience, and public perception (Castonguay and Jutras, 2009; Valentine and McKendrick, 1998). In North-West England, 70% of adults in a middle class area, and 91% in a deprived area, felt local play provision was inadequate (Valentine and McKendrick, 1998). It therefore first appears advantageous for children's play possibilities to be raised in an affluent area, but research suggests the relationship is complex. For instance, children from affluent areas are more likely to have access to back gardens and/or natural play spaces. However, wealthier families are more likely to ensure observed and structured leisure activities for their children, which are incidentally more likely to take place outside the local environment (Valentine & McKendrick, 1998; Thomson & Philo, 2004). This can have negative impacts on the formation of a child's subjective spatial map and in developing and promoting personal autonomy and self-identity (Buchner, 1990; Valentine & McKendrick, 1998; Spencer & Woolley, 2000). Conversely, children from poorer families are more likely to play in public space near their homes, yet they are more likely to live in potentially dangerous surroundings and lack accessible facilities and services (Castonguay & Jutras, 2009; Day & Wager, 2010).

2.5.2 Furthering Article 31 in the built environment

Children will seek opportunities to participate in recreational activities wherever they are, but adult perceptions can problematise the spaces children choose to play and affect their abilities to realise the right (Ward, 1990; Lester, 2014). Thus, due to widespread misunderstanding and inaction from governments across the world of Article 31, the UN's Committee on the Rights of the Child (2013) published general comment no.17. This comment brings to the forefront a need for all public agencies that influence children's play opportunities to fulfil their obligations to children (Figure 2.5), but to do so they must first understand what play means for children and how it related to the environments of childhood.

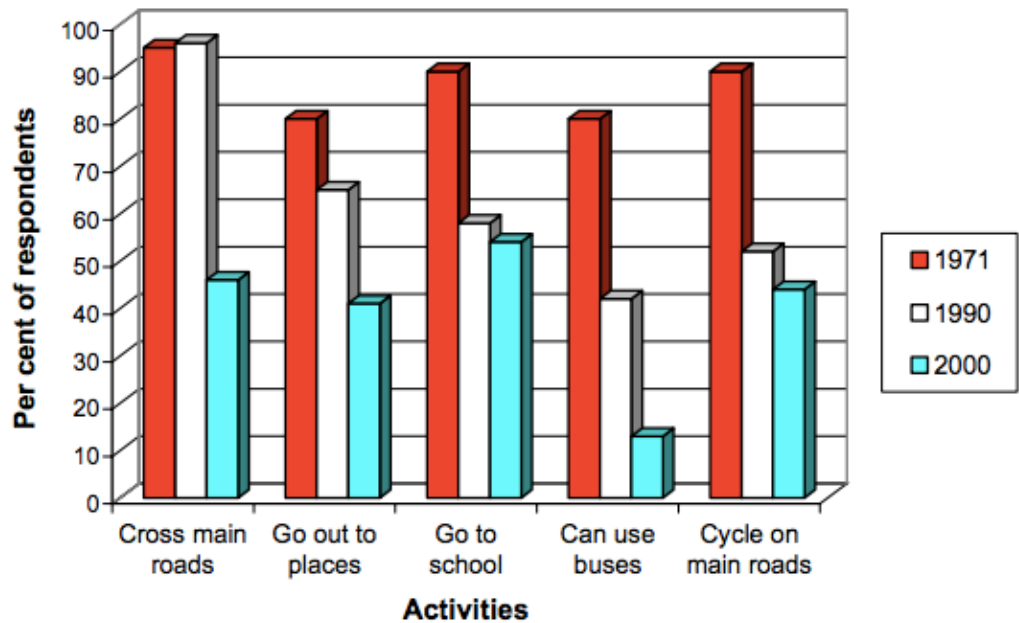


Figure 2.5 What children require from Article 31 of the UNCRC, and why it is important Source: International Planning Association (IPA, 2013).

The most widely recognised and acknowledged land use for children is playgrounds and parks. However, a focus on playgrounds can be both a positive movement in recognising the needs of children, and a potentially exclusionary way to approach children's spatial requirements (McKendrick, 2007; Dickerson, 2013; Gillespie, 2013). Linked with this is the increasing private-provision of play spaces, which McKendrick and colleagues found is decreasing the autonomy of

children, and increasing the separation between children whose carers can pay for their leisure, and those whose carers cannot (Valentine & McKendrick, 1998; McKendrick et al., 2000a,b). This emphasis on child spaces being only structured and segregated is problematic, as many studies show that whilst parks and playgrounds are often important in children's lives, they are rarely their most important or favourite spaces to play, and children frequently report preferring less structure to their activities (Valentine & McKendrick, 1998; Aitken, 2000; Jones & Barker, 2000; Valentine, 2004; McKendrick, 2007; Castonguay & Jutras, 2009).

Without the recognition that children have environmental needs beyond playgrounds, parks and schools, they cannot participate equally in public space (Dickerson, 2013), and vice versa, with children in public space symbolising disorderly conduct, they cannot be taken seriously in public and political debate (Kulynych, 2001). A range of social and physical issues hamper the freedom children are given to play outside, particularly by themselves. The most prominent barrier is the rise of motor traffic, which has altered the safety of public space for children; heavily influenced the structure of the built environment; and influenced the attitude and culture of individuals and society. This has arguably led to dramatic decline in children's independent mobility across the last two generations, shown in Figure 2.6, with the freedom of UK children falling behind many of their European counterparts (Shaw et al., 2015). This relationship between children's independence and the licenses granted them by adults lead Mikkelsen & Christensen (2009) and Nansen et al., (2015) to begin viewing children's mobility, not as independent, but as interdependent, and therefore a complex assemblage of social, environmental and economic issues. Parents mediate it most directly, but the structure of the built environment interacts with social issues and pressure to determine where parents allow children to go.



Source: Hillman *et al.*, 1990, O'Brien *et al.*, 2000

Figure 2.6 Proportion of 10/11 year olds able to undertake activities unaccompanied' (Barker, 2006, p. 50)

To link children's use of space with land use planning, the fields of environmental psychology and children's geographies are useful. In particular, Kyttä (2004) provides a valuable conceptual understanding of children's use of outdoor space (Figure 2.7 called the Fields of Action theory. In this model, the outdoor environment provides a range of potential affordances for children, in which lie three 'fields of action'. On one side, the 'field of promoted action' contains the types of environmental exploration encouraged by adults. On the other side, the 'field of constrained action' contains the explorations adults limit. For adults, these lie at opposite ends of what a child should and should not do. In the middle of these fields lies the 'field of free action', in which a child freely chooses their activities. This overlaps to an extent with both the field of promoted, and the field of constrained action, but also sits within its own sphere of 'other' activities they undertake without adult intervention. The child will seek to increase the time they spend in the field of free action, and here they experience the actualised affordances of a given environment. Therefore, the challenge in practice is to increase the size of the 'field of free action', whilst reducing the 'field of constrained action'.

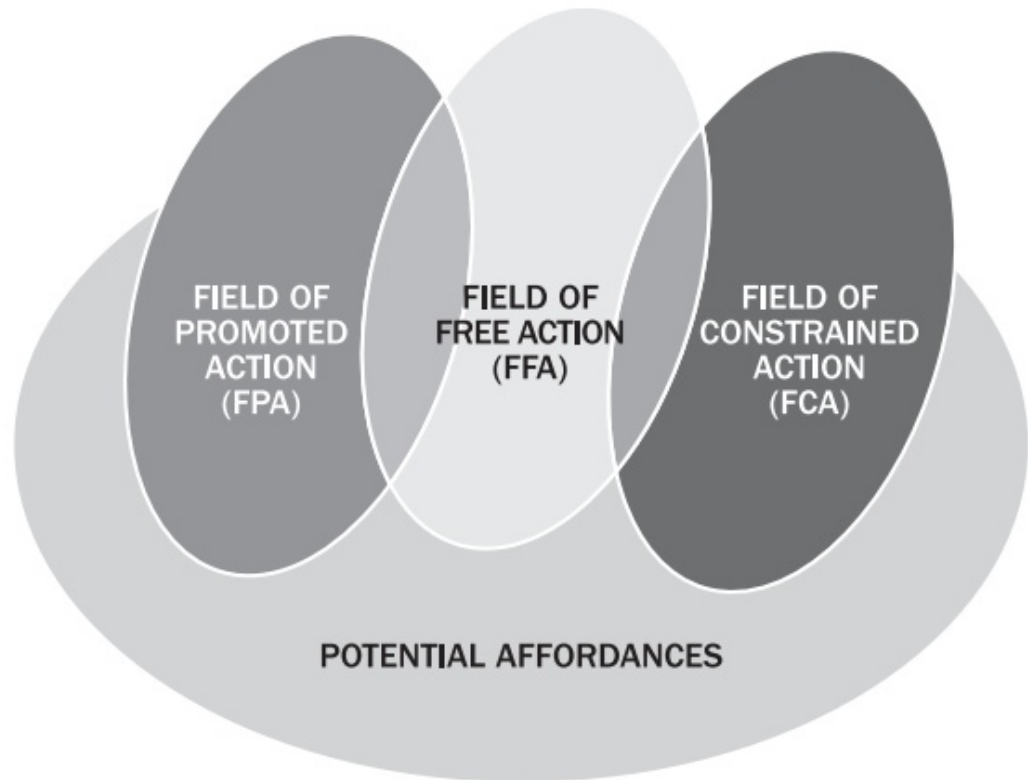


Figure 2.7 Kyttä's (2004) Fields of Action Theory

2.6 Linking Participation in Place and Process

Having examined children's participation as being heard in decision-making, and also having a place in the public realm, it is clear that children are systematically excluded from both. This suggests a different approach is needed to facilitate children's participation rights, and Malone and Percy-Smith (2001, p. 18) argue.

'authentic participation involves inclusion- wherein the system changes to accommodate the participation and values of children- rather than integration- wherein children participate in predefined ways in predefined structures'.

Literature in the New Sociology of Childhood, Children's Geographies, and Playwork is beginning to do this. There remain gaps however in how such an understanding can play out in practice. In particular, planning literature takes little note of children's rights in place and process (see chapter three). This sets the way for new conceptual understandings of participation, as well as how to link theory and practice to affect the lived experience of children. To conclude this review, it is thus

important to assess the current political context of children's participation rights in the UK (as state party to the UNCRC), but focusing on Scotland.

2.7 The State of Children's Participation Rights in Scotland

The Committee on the Rights of the Child's (CRC) 2008 concluding observations for the UK lamented that the UNCRC is not enforceable under UK (or Scot's) law. It also highlighted issues such as the declining space and opportunity for younger children to play outdoors; the negative treatment of teenagers in public space; further exclusion of minority groups within children; and patchy commitment to include the views of children in varying tiers of decision-making (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2008). The UK's latest (23rd May 2014) report to the CRC congratulates itself on advances the UK has made, particularly in child protection and education. However, the CRC's 2016 concluding observations reiterate many of the same concerns as their previous report, and voice particular alarm over the lack of strategic respect for the views of children (particularly younger children and those from marginalised groups) in policy-making processes. It is also critical of the levels of child poverty in the UK, declining mental and physical health, and the lack of serious attention across the nations to children's play, leisure and culture (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2016).

Though there are gaps in the UK and Scottish Government's implementation of the UNCRC, there are positive steps each have made for children in recent years. The Equality Act (The UK Parliament, 2010) made age a protected equality characteristic in the UK, and requires that public policy prevent unlawful discrimination, pursue ways to further equality between groups, and foster good relations between those sharing a protected characteristic and those that do not. In Scotland, it has been compulsory to produce Equalities Impact Assessments (EQIA) for policy and plans since 2011, and the rights enshrined in the UNCRC have made further impact on the Scottish political context that the UK government have not replicated.

Most strategically, the Scottish Government published the 'Do the Right Thing' document (Scottish Government, 2009a), which set out their priority actions between 2009 and 2013 to address the CRC's 2008 concluding observations. Whilst Tisdall (2013) is sceptical that its comprehensiveness can lead to substantive change, the Scottish Government made a recent move to 'Make Scotland the Best Place to Grow Up' by introducing The Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014. This

has strengthened the acknowledgement and impetus of children's rights, and puts a duty on Scottish Ministers to:

- keep under review whether there are steps they could take to strengthen their approach to implementation of the UNCRC;
- take any appropriate actions in response to this;
- promote awareness and understanding of the UNCRC; and
- report and require any recognised public bodies to report on their progress in furthering the UNCRC every three years.

With the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act, the Scottish Government (2015a) has introduced a requirement for Child Rights and Wellbeing Impact Assessments (CRWIAs) on all new legislative and policy developments. These aim to enshrine the Scottish Government's 'Getting it Right for Every Child' (GIRFEC) approach to providing services for children into law. These measures are positive steps in moving towards better implementation of the UNCRC across policy areas in some ways. However, it is not possible to predict how Scottish Ministers will interpret their duty, with a duty to report, not the same as a duty to progress (Davis et al., 2014; Tisdall, 2013). Indeed, by prioritising GIRFEC, the act gives a stronger statutory standing to indicators of wellbeing than it does to children's rights (Tisdall & Davis, 2015; Tisdall, 2015).

In relation to Article 31, the recently introduced National Play Strategy for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2013) highlights the need to provide suitable leisure opportunities for all age groups. It also recognises the need for various public bodies and charities to work towards this, including the planning system. In addition, play has been listed as a 'key change' by the Early Years Collaborative, which is 'the world's first multi-agency, bottom up quality improvement programme to support the transformation of early years'. It was set up to 'accelerate the high level principles set out in the Early Years Framework [the Scottish Government's preventative approach to children's earliest years of life] into practical action' (Scottish Government, 2015b). However, whilst play is recognised as important for children up to age eight, there is less policy provision for older children. This means that there is increasing recognition of Article 12 and 31 in Scottish law and policy, but the recent nature of these developments makes it uncertain how they will affect the everyday, lived rights of children. It is relevant however that Scotland faces a brighter policy landscape than its neighbours England and Northern Ireland, which give no statutory standing to children's rights, and do not have national play policies (Voce, 2015).

2.7.1 The Welsh Approach to Children's Rights

In contrast to the rest of the UK, the Welsh Government have taken further steps to enshrine children's rights into their work. The Welsh Government takes a rights-based approach to policy, presenting seven core aims for children and young people that align with the UNCRC. Of these, Core Aim 4 is entitled 'Play, sport, leisure and culture', and focuses on achieving Article 31, whilst Core Aim 5 is entitled 'Be listened to, treated with respect and have their race and cultural identity recognised' which they map directly to Article 12 (Welsh Government, 2015). With this, the Welsh Government have two important pieces of legislation- The Children and Families (Wales) Measure 2010, and the The Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure 2011.

The Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure 2011 places a duty on Welsh Ministers, like their Scottish equivalents, to have due regard to the UNCRC when exercising their functions. It requires that the Welsh Government sets out a 'Children's Rights Scheme' to detail their arrangements for complying with the duty. This legislation has slightly different wording to the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act, making it hard to compare directly how children's rights commitments are to be carried out in each country, but the Scottish Act builds in greater flexibility for ministers to deem what is and is not an appropriate action to take. Despite this, the UK Children's Commissioners (The UK Children's Commissioners, 2015) remain critical of the extent to which both acts are able to fully achieve the principles of the UNCRC. One key difference, however, is the greater length of time the Welsh measure has been in place, and as a result, Children's Rights Impact Assessments (CRIAs) have become more embedded in the evaluation of Welsh than in Scottish policy, and lacking the dual commitment to children's rights and wellbeing, they *may* embrace the UNCRC more directly.

Linked with the Welsh Government's commitment to rights, Wales is the first country in the world to legislate for children's play, as recommended in General Comment 17 (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2013). Their approach is known as 'the play sufficiency duty', and contained in The Children and Families (Wales) Measure 2010. This duty is organised into two parts, with the first commenced in November 2012, stating:

- (1) A local authority must assess the sufficiency of play opportunities in its area for children in accordance with regulations.
- (2) Regulations may include provision about—
 - (a) the matters to be taken into account in assessing sufficiency;
 - (b) the date by which a first assessment is to be carried out;
 - (c) frequency of assessments;

- (d)review of assessments;
- (e)publication of assessments.

(Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 8)

In accordance with this, each local authority produced a Play Sufficiency Assessment (PSA) in March 2013. This followed extensive guidelines that laid out nine matters for detailed consideration (Play Wales & The Welsh Government, 2012). The second part of the duty then commenced in July 2014, requiring that:

- (3) A local authority must secure sufficient play opportunities in its area for children, so far as reasonably practicable, having regard to its assessment under subsection (1).

Within this “play” includes any recreational activity; and “sufficient”, in relation to play opportunities, means sufficient having regard to quantity and quality (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 8).

Preliminary findings from studies of this duty suggest that it is changing the practices of local authorities in their ability to facilitate Article 31 (Russell & Lester, 2013, 2014). It also places a requirement for Article 12 to form part of the assessment, and so children must be involved in the process.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of how childhood, as a social construct, has changed over time; how the concept can be used to protect and demonise children; and how efforts to emancipate children from these confines led to the establishment of children’s rights. The UNCRC recognises the ambiguity and ambivalence with which children are often treated, and therefore requires national governments to take into account more extensive human rights for those aged below 18. The academic result of this has been an increased focus on children as capable and agentic, and a distancing from purely psychological approaches to childhood research.

The New Sociology of Childhood has opened up the debate as to whether children are human beings, human becomings, or both (Uprichard, 2008). With this, and the related discipline of Children’s Geographies, a focus on two rights of the convention in relation to children’s participation have come to the fore. These are respect for the views of child (Article 12), and the right to play (Article 31), each of which can have ambiguous social, spatial and political

consequences that challenge the dominant ways children are perceived. In this review, I set out the connection between the two rights as participation in process and participation in place. Using theoretical models is helpful in this regard, but they currently have their limits, and researchers are calling for greater investigation into how the two link together to make participation more relevant to children's lived experience. This means recognising their ability in both formal and informal political participation.

Finally, the review assessed the state of law and legislation in Scotland, and compared it to its UK counterparts. This showed that whilst there have been a number of positive changes to the legislative and policy landscape in Scotland, they fall short of the full implementation that many scholars and NGOs call for. It is also notable that whilst Scotland stands out from England and Northern Ireland, the approach of the Welsh Government appears to go further than the Scottish Government's to instil a rights-based approach into policy and practice. The following chapter furthers this assessment of children, childhood and children's rights by exploring how planning literature frames and understands citizen participation, and where children fit within this.

Chapter Three: Planning, Participation, and the Place of Children

The participation of different communities and organisations is increasingly important to the planning profession, and perceptions of how planning can strive to produce the best quality outcomes. Chapter two showed how children's participation is not generally a major consideration of policy makers, and many existing models of participation fail to bring an authentic child's voice into decision-making processes. Building on this, this chapter explores the reasons for, benefits of, and problems of citizen participation in planning. It then summarises some of the planning-specific studies of children's participation in the planning process. This sets the basis for further exploration of ways children's rights can be a more central part of what planning does. The review takes a particular focus on current practice in Scotland, but draws together views and assumptions that cross planning in the developed world, both to widen potential insights, and address distinct gaps in the literature base of UK and Scotland-specific studies. The chapter concludes by drawing together the findings with those of chapter two to suggest the next area requiring investigation.

3.1 The purpose of planning

The planning profession has varying aims that span economic, social and environmental considerations (Cullingworth et al., 2015), yet the overriding goal is to manage land and related resources for the sake of collective long term human interests. The Scottish Government defines the purpose of planning to:

‘make decisions about future development, and the use of land in our towns, cities and countryside. It decides where development should happen, where it should not and how development affects its surroundings... [it] balances competing demands to make sure that land is used and developed in the public's long-term interest’ (Scottish Government, 2009b)

Whilst the public interest can have varying interpretations, the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) in Scotland sets the main aim of the planning system to create ‘places for people’ (RTPI, 2014). Within this, a central theme of the public good is notions of social justice- what it is, and how planners can help achieve it. This concept is widely accepted in the profession, but planners may have little oversight of how their day to day work can, and should, contribute. Indeed, planning

policy, even with social justice in mind, can have a limited understanding of what this means in practice, as well as how planning policy supports and/or contests other elements of national and local policy. Thus, the aspirations of planners may soar above what they can practically achieve. Meanwhile, academic debates rage on philosophical and normative ideals of planning, but do not necessarily face application on any scale. This leaves a gap between planning theory and practice that is hard to reconcile (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003).

With changing governance and social, environmental and economic conditions, ideas of how planning should approach the public interest have changed over time. In particular, at the beginning of the UK's town planning system came a reliance on a functionalist, and rational models of decision-making (Banfield, 1955). This focused primarily on the expertise of planners and related professionals to understand society and the direction it should go in. This paternalistic view gave rise to major building projects such as the British New Towns, and public sector house-building. However, though these projects met many of their initial goals, calls to increase the democratic elements of the process rose throughout the 1960s, and criticism of the rational planning model resulted in a more deliberative conception of how planning should be done.

3.2 A change in paradigm

Hague & Damer (1971, p. 217) contend that public participation in British planning came about because of five 'interrelated factors':

- the example of the American planning experience;
- the social ethic of planning;
- a general growth of interest in participatory rather than representative democracy;
- a history of bottle-necks and hold-ups in the administrative processing of plans; and
- a growth of public interest in the urban environment.

This move to democratise planning is now referred to as the 'Communicative turn' (Healey, 1997), which began in earnest in the UK with the 'People and Planning; Report of the Skeffington Committee on Public Participation in Planning' (Skeffington, 1969), convened by the UK Government. The report recommended several principles for integrating public participation into planning:

- publicity on the preparation of development plans and the varying stages of their preparation;
- positive attitudes towards public representation in planning matters;
- Local Authorities using neighbourhood forums to discuss planning matters collectively;
- informing consultees on the contribution of their representation to plans; and

- a need to increase public awareness of planning and how people can get involved.

This report, along with a ladder of participation developed by Sherry Arnstein in the US (1969), set in motion an increased acknowledgement of how planning affects the lives of ordinary people, and therefore the rights they should have to be involved. Arnstein's (1969) ladder (Figure 3.1) categorised the forms of participation for the first time, to set standards and benchmarks for the system to raise awareness of what is 'real' participation, and what is non-participation. Like Hart's (1992) derivative ladder explored in chapter two (page 22), this brought attention to inadequate and unjustifiable claims to participation, and therefore moved models away from representative democracy, in which the public often complained they lacked any say, towards deliberative democracy, where everyone theoretically gains the right to participate.

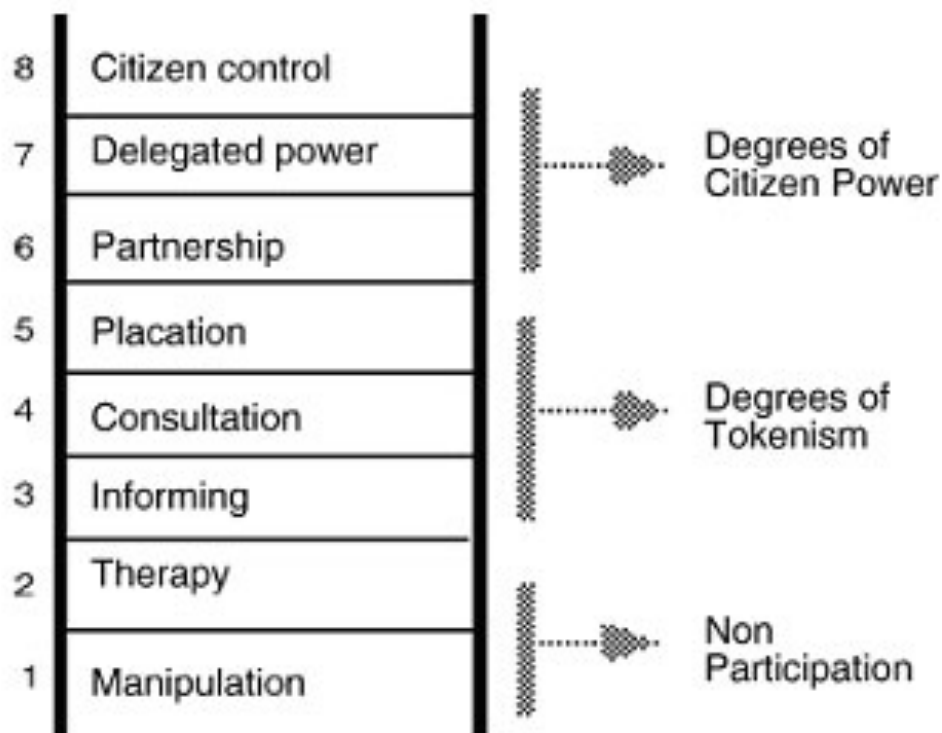


Figure 3.1 Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation

Hague & Damer (1971) criticised many elements of the Skeffington report. For example, they contended that commentators focused on the US planning experience to illustrate the need for citizen participation, but did not address how the UK experience differed. Indeed, though the social ethos of planning lends itself to sympathy for members of communities, the Skeffington Report's recommendations had no theoretical context and offered a simplistic view of solutions. Of particular note was a focus on community education to ease the planning process, as well as an optimistic stance on what participation would do for the outcomes of planning. As a result, the report democratised the system to some extent, but made no genuine aim for 'citizen power' in Arnstein's (1969) model. This arguably created a continuing tension between how members of the

public wish to be involved in matters of the built environment, and how the planning system is set up to view and respond to their concerns (McClymont, 2014; Inch, 2014). For instance, national planning policy in Scotland emphasises that members of the public concerned with a planning matter should write formally to planning authorities, which may not be receptive to other forms of communication. Linked with this, is the precarious line planners often straddle between responding to community views, and weighing up how far they can equate them with a wider public good. Despite tensions, whether for aims of legitimising development decisions (Hague & Damer 1971), for reasons of social justice (Healey 2003b), or a complex and fluctuating mix, participation now underlies all urban planning policy in the UK, and is a principle rarely questioned.

3.3 Participatory planning theories

Several theories have evolved in the debates around participation in urban planning, sometimes to inform practice, but more often following practical changes in planning approaches. The most dominant participatory planning theories are collaborative planning, presented by Healey (1997) in the UK, and communicative planning theory, introduced by Forester (1989) in the US. Despite some difference in formulation, both have a similar basis in bringing a more deliberative style of democracy to planning. This recognises the value of the wider insights brought by a range of experts, including those expert in their own everyday lives.

Forester (1989, p. 119) asserts that through communicative strategies complementing the technical work of planners, planners and lay experts take part in a 'deeply social process of making sense together'. This calls into question the automatic sense-making potential of planners, assumed in the rational model, to promote deliberative decision-making. Here, the planner's role is not to lay out masterplans, but to be an arbitrator of differing views (Forester 1989). Similarly, collaborative planning seeks to improve the quality of decisions planners make by including as wide a base of opinion as possible. It also addresses the problem Healey observed in the 1980s that the functionalist and rational model of planning was falling into difficulty, with traditional levers such as designating land for particular uses no longer bringing about the results the profession was seeking. Thus, through collaboration with a variety of actors, the quality of decisions improves because planners, coming from one set of experiences and views, are exposed to other ways of seeing and understanding the environments they plan. Therefore, collaborative planning brings something broader and more inclusive than the usual regulatory practices of land use planning (Healey 2003b). The planner can then use their expertise to help define the planning problem that prompted

members of the public to participate (Fischler, 2000). This makes wide inclusion important to planning in an ever-complex and diverse world (Healey, 1997; Innes & Booher, 2010).

Whilst Healey's collaborative planning was not originally rooted in the same political theory as Forester's communicative planning theory, they both relate to Habermas's (1990) theory of communicative action. In this model, wide and varied parties come together to discuss and debate issues that will, in time, produce consensus on the approach to take forward. To allow this to happen without distortions and inequalities, everyone follows communicative norms in what Habermas refers to as 'an ideal speech situation'. If no one is excluded from the process, then a better understanding of the public's needs and views can help formulate better solutions to complex problems. To be part of this deliberation and follow the communicative norms, all participants must have 'communicative competence' which involves a set of mutually recognised, understood and held pre-requisites, such as the ability to communicate and to listen to others in a particular way. This ensures that the only force in the deliberative forum is that of the better argument (Habermas & MacCarthy 2002).

Applying communicative rationality to the messy, real world means encountering the distortions that planners need to manage if wide inclusion and consensus are achievable. Both Forester and Healey are cognisant of the limitations in garnering community input, but place the role of planner in facilitating as inclusionary a process as possible, and reflecting at length on their practice and ability to improve the process (Forester, 1989, 1999, Healey, 1997, 2003a,b). Forester (1989) encourages planners to be facilitators and managers of the forum in pursuit of upholding the principles of communicative competence and limiting distortions. The inability of such distortions to be fully eliminated however leads some to write off Habermas's principles as utopian, and impractical for modelling legitimate deliberation in the real world (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Indeed, some argue the concept of communicative competence relies too heavily on ideas constructed by hegemonic norms and unequal power relations (Young, 2000). In defence, others argue that though it may present an idealised version of reality, communicative rationality has an important role in improving the inclusivity and evidence base of decisions, providing important insights and goals to focus the process (Healey, 2003b). Indeed, Healey (1997) proposes that the collaborative approach can help achieve long-term institutional change in how planners conduct themselves. Over time, this leads to more effective and equitable processes that are better placed to understand the public good, even if fully inclusive practices are an aspiration rather than reality.

Both collaborative planning and communicative planning theory make the case that a good quality process is linked with good quality planning outcomes. However, like much of planning itself, other researchers criticise this assumption as simplistic, and call for greater attention to outcomes, which

may (or may not) result from participatory processes (McGuirk, 2001; Healey, 2003b; Fainstein, 2010; McClymont, 2014). With this, extensive academic debates have, and continue, to rage between the attention that collaborative planning and communicative planning theory pay towards power dynamics, and what this means for the quality of participation in planning. This gives rise to two distinct topics of discussion:

- The role and desirability of consensus as a goal in participatory planning (consensus vs. agonism) (Mouffe, 2000; Hillier, 2003; Bond, 2011); and
- The inclusion of diverse voices in existing participatory forums (Young, 2000; Sandercock, 2005).

Each of these are important in understanding what community participation means for planners and participants. However, the complexities of power in participation, the underlying context of Habermas's communicative rationality, and what this means for children's participation deserves extensive attention. This is also a consideration in much childhood research, and I therefore return to this in chapter four, to explore in detail what power means for children's political participation, and consequently for planning research and practice.

3.4 Planning and community engagement in Scotland

To set participatory planning into practical context, Figure 3. 2 shows the hierarchical framework of the Scottish planning system. This policy structure sets the official commitments and boundaries of planners' work, and must be understood in the context of the Scottish Government's core aim:

‘To focus Government and public services on creating a more successful country, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth’ (Scottish Government, 2013b).

This places economic growth at the heart of the planning system, with the assumption that a strong economy is the way to achieve the Scottish Government's subservient strategic objectives of:

- A Wealthier and Fairer Scotland;
- A Healthier Scotland;
- A Safer and Stronger Scotland;
- A Smarter Scotland; and
- A Greener Scotland (The Scottish Government, 2012b)

Within this, The Third National Planning Framework (NPF3) drives the planning process, being:

‘a long-term strategy for Scotland. It is the spatial expression of the Government Economic Strategy, and of our plans for development and investment in infrastructure. NPF identifies national developments and other strategically important development opportunities in Scotland. It is accompanied by an Action Programme which identifies how we expect it to be implemented, by whom, and when.’ (Scottish Government, 2014a, p. iv)

All development plans must accord with the NPF3, meaning its specification and focus are important in defining how all other planning policy and practice take shape. Development plans then serve as the primary consideration in determining individual planning decisions. However, Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) gives a finer level of detail around the functions of the planning system:

‘Scottish Planning Policy is Scottish Government policy on how nationally important land use planning matters should be addressed across the country. As a statement of Ministers’ priorities, we expect it to carry significant weight in the preparation of development plans and to be a material consideration in planning decisions’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. iv)

This means the document is instrumental in the formulation of strategic and local development plans, but also that elements of this policy mean developments can take place, even if contrary to an established development plan. This is provided there is strong evidence of its otherwise positive impact on the public’s long term interest.

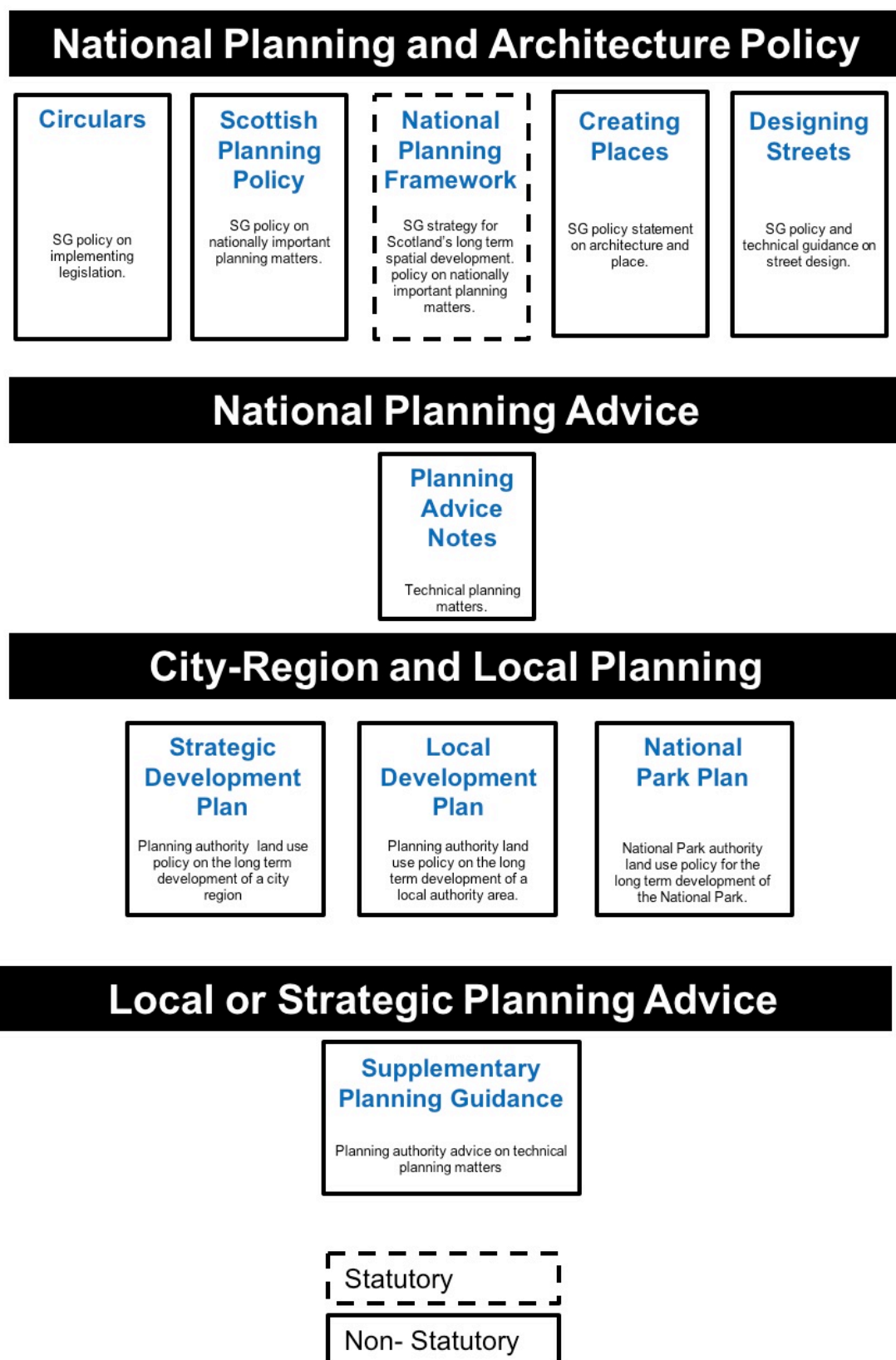


Figure 3. 2 the structure of the Scottish planning system. Diagram adapted from Scottish Government (2014a, p. 1)

In exploring participation policy, NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) requires planning authorities to engage with communities. However, the majority of guidance and policy on community

engagement is contained at a national level in SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b), and ‘Planning Advice Note 3: Community Engagement’ (PAN3) (Scottish Government, 2010a). To fulfil statutory obligations to community engagement in planning, planning authorities and applicants must follow particular procedures, and these differ for local and strategic development plans, and for individual planning applications.

Figure 3.3 sets out the stages of development plan preparation in the Scottish context, with community engagement a legal process and consideration at each point. As part of this commitment, the planning authority should publish a ‘Development Plan Scheme’ which includes a ‘Participation Statement’. These set out how and when people can get involved in the plan preparation process. The minimum standards to include in a participation statement are:

- at least one notice in a local newspaper and on the internet, which sets out what is being prepared and how people can make a representation; and
- the sending of information to key agencies, planning authorities, and community councils.

The documents planning authorities produce as part of the plan making process must then be published on the internet and available for inspection at an office of each planning authority, and all local libraries in the plan area (The Scottish Government, 2006; 2008b). When submitting their final plan to a Scottish Reporter, they must also include a summary of responses to their proposed plan, how and why they responded to them, and the extent to which they conformed with their own participation statement.



Figure 3.3 The stages of development plan preparation in Scotland.

Whilst the legal standards on community engagement are minimal, the Scottish Government states planning authorities

‘should aim to widely publicise the plan and use engagement methods which fit into everyday lives. This might include considering for example:

- stands at community events, supermarkets, shopping centres or public buildings;
- articles and advertisements in the local press and the use of electronic information through websites and e-mail;
- a strategy for raising awareness through the local press and media;
- timing issues, for example avoiding starting a consultation during main holiday periods when many people will be away, or if it is unavoidable, extend the period of engagement’ (Scottish Government, 2010a, p. 10).

They also promote early engagement in planning, by encouraging planning authorities to consider a pre-MIR (Main Issues Report) stage of community engagement (see Figure 3.3), and emphasising the greater degree of influence public opinion can have on a plan before it is formulated into the proposed document.

Figure 3.4 sets out the standards for community engagement on individual planning applications, which differ depending on whether developments are classified National, Major or Local developments under ‘Circular 5: Hierarchy of Developments’ (Scottish Government, 2009c). In all cases, planning authorities must publish weekly lists of applications; send these to community councils; consult statutory consultees on all relevant matters; and send out neighbour notification letters for those within a certain distance of a planning application. To engage, anyone can then submit a ‘representation’ on any application through letter or online. An appointed planner will submit a report with a recommendation for approval or refusal of an application after examining all of the relevant representations, plans and policies. The planning authority’s planning committee may heed the recommendation under deferred powers, or use it to inform the final discussions and decisions they make themselves. At the end of the process, applicants may appeal this decision if it is not in their favour, and in exceptional circumstances, the Scottish Government may call in a planning application for Scottish Ministers to determine themselves (The Scottish Government, 2008b).

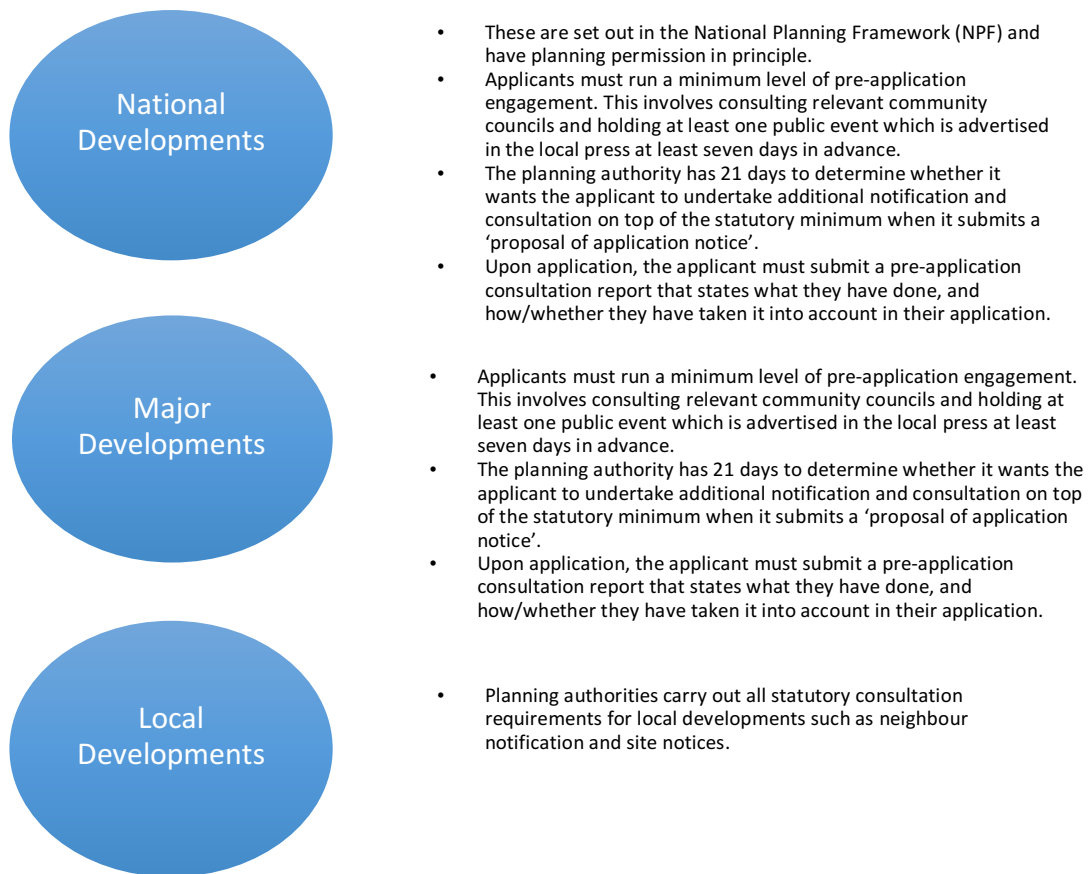


Figure 3.4 Community engagement carried out for each type of development in Scotland

Outside of the formal routes of participation and dialogue in planning, PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) encourages planning authorities and developers alike to follow the National Standards for Community Engagement:

1. **Involvement:** Identify and involve the people and organisations who have an interest in the focus of the engagement.
2. **Support:** Identify and overcome any barriers to involvement.
3. **Planning:** Gather evidence of need and resources to agree purpose, scope and actions.
4. **Methods:** Agree and use methods of engagement that are fit for purpose.
5. **Working Together:** Agree and use clear procedures that enable participants to work together effectively and efficiently.
6. **Sharing Information:** Ensure necessary information is communicated between the participants
7. **Working with Others:** Work effectively with others with an interest.
8. **Improvement:** Develop the skills, knowledge and confidence of the participants.
9. **Feedback:** Feedback results to the wider community and agencies affected.
10. **Monitoring and Evaluation:** Monitor and evaluate whether engagement achieves its purpose and meets the national standards for community engagement (Scottish Government, 2010a).

PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) relates each of these to planning, and provides some information and resources on how to achieve them such as through workshops, 'Charrettes', school visits, collaborative meetings, or exhibitions that planning authorities or developers may choose to run. The Scottish Government also encourage innovation and diligence in community engagement

through an annual award for excellence, and through providing funding for the core activities of the community engagement charity PAS (The Scottish Government, 2015c).

3.4.1 The Support of PAS

PAS (formerly Planning Aid for Scotland) is an independent, impartial charity that provides planning advice to members of the public and community groups. It also provides training on community engagement for professionals and delivers volunteer-run participatory events on behalf of other organisations. 22% of planners in Scotland are signed up as official PAS volunteers (PAS, 2015a), and the events they run span a range of issues and matters, focusing increasingly on specialist activities to engage ‘seldom heard groups’. As part of their activities, PAS has developed a guide to community engagement known as ‘SP=EED™ Successful Planning = Effective Engagement and Delivery: a Practical Guide to Better Engagement in Planning’ (Planning Aid Scotland, 2014). The charity runs training in their methods, and offers official certification for planners that have undertaken their two day course (PAS, 2016). This has been formerly adopted by the Scottish Government as guidance for developing recognised community engagement skills (Scottish Government 2010a), making it increasingly influential in views of how community engagement in planning should be done.

Table 3.2 shows PAS’s three steps of community engagement and a further explanation. These denote the different levels of engagement planners should seek to achieve in their role. It identifies that whilst ‘partnership’ is the most participatory element of their steps, it is also the most resource-intensive, and may not be appropriate or feasible in all situations. PAS recognises that each step is an important element of the process of engagement, and planning practitioners should fulfil them as far as practical. For instance, it may only be possible to ‘inform’ communities about some aspects of planning, but they feel that reaching ‘consultation’ should be achievable in most cases. This aims to encourage planners to create partnerships whenever the opportunity arises, so that the domination of the planner’s interest reduces in the process, and communities have a greater chance of authentic participation. At its truest form, a partnership would reach Habermas’s (1990) ideal speech situation, with planners acting as facilitators (Forester, 1999) of an equal, deliberative process, with few distortions and commitment only to ‘the force of the better argument’. PAS thus encourages planners to think critically about the most inclusive and effective methods to achieve the highest rung possible in their given context. They do this through promoting the SP=EED™ training and guide, along with the other services they run for planners and communities.

Table 3.2 The levels of community engagement established by PAS (Planning Aid for Scotland, 2014, p. 7)

Note – an engagement process might achieve different levels with regard to different criteria		
Level 1	Informing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an essential building block for engagement • a one-way process • a valuable end in itself and the most appropriate level to aim for in certain situations • an essential step in achieving Levels 2 and 3
Level 2	Consulting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • incorporates and builds on Level 1 • an interactive and iterative process – listening, and being responsive to issues raised • an appropriate level in many situations • the level of engagement most often aimed for and achieved
Level 3	Partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • incorporates Levels 1 and 2, but goes well beyond • the most demanding level of engagement • achievable and appropriate in the right situation • may take place over an extended period of time, or be a shorter, more intensive charrette-type process • involves in-depth collaboration with partners, and should include potential for their input into design of proposals and the engagement process

Whilst some diversifying of methods of participation is increasing across planning, the methods planners use remain largely static and traditional. This can be a result of policy that does not incentivise innovation and/or pervasive barriers such as the structure of planning authorities, and the skills planners are trained in that can lead to a difference between the rhetoric and reality of community participation (Brownill & Carpenter, 2007; Conrad et al., 2011; Pacione, 2014). Moreover, participatory approaches may be seen as, or become tools of social control, through which planners can reach particular outcomes. This means ‘projects or decision making processes which make claims to being participatory do not necessarily accurately reflect public interests and participants do not necessarily play influential roles’ (Aitken, 2010, p. 249).

Issues in the participatory practices of planning authorities can lead to opposition to planners and their approaches. For instance, the organisation Planning Democracy are often critical of both the methods and outcomes of community engagement, and promote reform to the Scottish planning system to give a greater weight to community views (Planning Democracy, 2012; Inch, 2014). Such criticism chimes with Hague & Damer's (1971) early contentions that participation in planning practice is often implicitly about educating citizens, and legitimising processes, than it is about improving the quality of decisions. Low minimum standards, as set out in this section, are unlikely to serve as incentive to applicants and planning authorities to prioritise their resources on extending their engagement practices to ‘hard to reach’ or ‘seldom heard’ groups. This may be set to change as the Scottish Government commissioned an independent ‘root and branch’ review of the planning system in November 2015. The independent report suggests some changes to participatory

practices, however the extent to which these will be heeded, or provide greater democracy, is currently unclear (Beveridge et al., 2016).

3.5 Children's place in planning

The plight of poor children, and the place of children in the urban environment was arguably an important reason for the emergence of a planning system in the UK. Indeed, 'children's dependence and need for protection, segregation, and delayed responsibility are culturally constructed norms that have served to shape urban planning' (Gillespie, 2013, p. 75). With this, Lynch (1977) and Ward's (1990) studies of children in urban environments in the 1970s displayed a concern for children and called for greater explicit attention to their needs in policy. However, such concerns have made little impact on the practice and awareness of planning professionals (Freeman, 2006; Woolcock et al., 2010). Indeed, communicative planning theory and collaborative planning, along with other ideologies of how planning should be done, have so far failed to bring children's participation into central focus.

Gillespie (2013) highlights that planning pays little attention to children and childhood, despite its key role in structuring children's lives, influencing their visibility in space and determining their participation in many decisions. The academic disciplines of Children's Geographies and Planning, despite overlapping in their focus, both tend to ignore the adultist views of planning theories and practice, even when highlighting issues of social justice (c.f Sandercock, 1998; Healey, 2003; Fainstein, 2010). Woolcock et al. (2010) highlight in Australia that this has come about as other groups have taken centre stage in political debates such as the rights of women, immigrants, and disabled people. However, a renewed feeling that childhood is in crisis is leading to the beginning of an international resurgence of interest in what cities do and do not provide for children, predominantly from a health and wellbeing perspective. The task for urban studies should therefore be to accept the 'invitation' to engage with the emerging interest in built environments from child-focused disciplines (Woolcock et al., 2010). Moreover, in September 2016 The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child devoted a Day of General Discussion to the theme of 'Children's Rights and the Environment', with a side event on play and urbanisation (IPA World, 2016). This means it is now time to begin 'writing children into planning theory' (Gillespie, 2013, p. 77), and exploring what a planning perspective may bring to studies of children.

Wood's (2015) recent study shows that the existing framework and policy of the Scottish planning system is not conducive to the inclusion of meaningful and widespread participation of children. However, this is pervasive across the world, with only a small number of specifically planning or regeneration focused projects available for review. In the Scottish context, studies exist on children's views of where they live (Thomson & Philo, 2004; Day & Wager, 2010), and much of the small pool of available research centres on urban regeneration projects. These lament the extent of commitment and structures to make meaningful connection with teenagers (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998; Elsley, 2004). Rijk et al. (2005) give some examples from grey literature of similar projects within urban regeneration and suggestions for ways forward, but what is left in planning is the promotion of projects for children from PAS (2015), but no systematic procedures or attention to the differences amongst children and young people.

Looking to research conducted in the rest of the UK, Simpson (1997) examined the extent to which planning considers children, and discovered implicit, but systematic exclusion. Yet, as he found little literature on the topic at his time of writing, he could not summarise potential ways to make the participation of children effective. More recently however, Day et al. (2011) provide an overview of the extent of children's participation (Article 12) in current UK planning and regeneration. They conclude that the sector has been remarkably slow to take children's rights into practical action. With this, several researchers explore regeneration projects in England, focusing mostly on the inclusion (or exclusion) of the views of teenagers (Speak, 2000; Matthews & Save the Children Fund (Great Britain), 2001; Rogers, 2006; Winter, 2010).

Matthews (2003) elaborates the three main barriers to young people's full involvement in regeneration:

1. *The nature of the schemes* means organisers often have little intention of focusing resources on children and young people's participation;
2. *The attitudes of adults* means they are most likely to favour young people that will engage on their terms; yet
3. *The characteristics of young people* means they may be unable or unwilling to become involved in these ways.

These perpetuate a cycle of not including young people in the process, and not seeking solutions to the problem. The lack of attention towards, but remarkable consistency on findings of children's participation in planning and regeneration since the 1990s show the ongoing struggle to bring children's views and ideas to the attention of policy makers. These studies have been influential in the field of children's geographies, but they come from a small pool of scholars, and as elucidated by Percy-Smith (2010), most issues of children's rights have been instigated socially rather than spatially.

Moving towards non-UK literature, in Australia, Cunningham et al. (2003) concede that the planning sector still sees children's participation as 'special' and not part of general community engagement processes. Alternatively, planning highlights children's health as a concern in certain contexts which, whilst essential, does not alone acknowledge the wider and interlinking rights of the UNCRC (Whitzman et al., 2010). With a lack of theoretical or strategic grounding in the field, Knowles-Yanez (2005) puts forward a meta-study, focusing on the US experience, but incorporates understandings from the international community. She finds four types of participation prevalent: scholarly; practice; educational; and rights-based. Scholarly studies make little connection with the real world and may appear in a geography or planning journal, but are unlikely to instil political methods to influence outcomes for children. In contrast, practice approaches emphasise the need for outcomes, but lack theoretical basis, and thus may not be able to capture the nuance of children's views through their methods and any practical implementation thereafter. Educational approaches, emphasise the benefits for individual children, and for the planning profession in having better-educated citizens. Like scholarly approaches, however, they often make little commitment to practical change and can focus on abstract ideas. Countering this, the rights-based approach stretches beyond local context and emphasises international commitments. This approach incorporates elements of the other approaches but is more holistic in its commitment to change, and in creating a movement.

Rights-based approaches include the two UN initiated Growing Up in Cities Projects (Lynch, 1977; Chawla & Unesco, 2002), which have been highly influential in the international children's rights fields, and promote incorporating children's participation into planning practice as part of a growing movement for child-friendly cities (Gleeson & Sipe, 2006; Freeman, 2006; Gleeson et al., 2006; Malone, 2006; Tranter, 2006; Ellis et al., 2015; Cushing, 2015). The conditions for a child-friendly city in the view of the UN are to guarantee the right of every young citizen to:

- 'influence decisions about their city
- express their opinion on the city they want
- participate in family, community and social life
- receive basic services such as health care, education and shelter
- drink safe water and have access to proper sanitation
- be protected from exploitation, violence and abuse
- walk safely in the streets on their own
- meet friends and play
- have green space for plants and animals
- live in an unpolluted environment
- participate in cultural and social events
- be an equal citizen of their city with access to every service, regardless of ethnic origin, religion, income, gender or disability' (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2004, p. 1)

With this has come the European Network of Child Friendly Cities, which adapts these overall principles into guidance and a support network of greater relevance to the lives of children in Europe. They set out five guiding principles of taking a Holistic, Integral, and Intergenerational approach, recognising the ‘Importance of participation of children and youth’, and ‘Dynamic trade and continuous challenge’ (European Network of Child Friendly Cities, 2014). These principles entail governance and systems for a city that see children’s rights not as an independent project in developing the city, but as part of all that they do in relation to social and spatial practice. It also highlights that a child friendly city is not a project with a beginning and an end, but is an approach that strives to continually reflect on changing circumstances, and the dynamic nature of a city environment. The network includes members across the continent, but the concept of child friendly cities is not widely taken up or discussed in the UK. Instead, it has been developed mostly in other Northern European countries (Haikkola et al., 2007; Horelli, 2007; Björklid & Nordström, 2007; Youth, Education & Society department of the City of Rotterdam., 2010; Nordström, 2010; van den Berg, 2013), and Australia (Gleeson & Sipe, 2006; Woolcock & Steele, 2007; Woolcock et al., 2010).

In taking forward a commitment to a child-friendly city, children’s participation is a strong and recurring theme, especially important as research suggests that whilst some basic tenets of a child friendly city may be universal, other factors can be dependent on the local environment and the cultural upbringing of children (Haikkola et al., 2007; Horelli, 2007; Nordström, 2010).

Consequently ‘there are experiences about being a child and relating to the environment that can and should only be told by a child’ (Knowles-Yanez, 2005, p. 12). However, planners (across the contexts where literature exists) report having little practical understanding of what children’s participation means for their work, even in situations where they have made a commitment (Freeman et al., 1999, 2003; Freeman & Aitken-Rose, 2005; Freeman, 2006; Cele & van der Burgt, 2013). Reiterating the findings of chapter two, this means children’s participation does not always lead to changes that really address children’s needs (Freeman et al., 2003). Indeed, children’s opinions are often only used to influence those aspects of space pre-determined to be of interest to them (Elsley, 2004). This limits their participation to the ‘Assigned but informed’ category of Hart’s (1992) ladder (p.22).

One issue with international, rights-based approaches is that they can neglect the local-scale and often do not engage with the policy-makers and practitioners that could make changes in their given context. As a result, although Knowles-Yanez (2005, pp. 10–11) commends the rights-based approach as the most effective route forward, she is also conscious that:

‘there needs to be sustained analysis of land use decision-making processes that involve children. Procedures for engagement, recommended settings, duration of activities, and age-appropriate activities are all issues that will challenge the typical land use planner’.

The current lack of systematic review of children's participation projects and strategies in planning often leads researchers, educators, and practitioners to start their processes and methodologies from scratch, and in moving the field forward, this must be addressed (Horelli, 1997; Simpson, 1997; Ellis et al., 2015). Ellis et al. (2015) suggest achieving commitment to child-friendliness in planning through reconnecting with older, more established planning ideas that already resonate in the profession. Their idea is to connect the concept of the child friendly city with the renowned, and child-inclusive ideas of Jane Jacobs's (1992) 'The Death And Life Of Great American Cities'. In this classic text, Jacobs talks of children's presence and play in the urban environment bringing life to the city. Such an approach may hold greater salience with planners than literature and ideas resonating from other fields, and they suggest using the term 'generation Jacobs' to market the concept to the planning profession.

One child friendly city project of particular note is Rotterdam in the Netherlands. This is of particular relevance due to the comprehensiveness of its strategy in relation to urban planning, and for praise it has consistently received from the play sector in Scotland (Play Scotland, 2009, 2015). The city authorities incorporated a method entitled 'Building Blocks for a Child Friendly Rotterdam' into their planning approach (Youth, Education & Society department of the City of Rotterdam., 2010). With this, they prioritised the building of child-friendly housing, public space, facilities, and safe traffic routes by setting standards such as:

- widening pavements in residential areas without private gardens;
- prioritising children's ability to walk and cycle to school through urban design;
- ensuring usable natural areas (such as for climbing trees) in public and play space; and
- ensuring at least one school in every district has an additional activity programme for children to take part in outside of school hours.

The City Council have also set out 'Rotterdam Norms' for play that mean all space is play space unless otherwise designated (Youth, Education & Society department of the City of Rotterdam., 2010). The result of this scheme has been a number of regeneration projects across the city. These are held up as good examples of improving the lives of children and families. However, van den Berg (2013) remains critical of the types of children and families encouraged to the city, and questions the inclusiveness of their child friendly principles. These are legitimate concerns in the context of singular projects of child-friendliness. However, if all cities and towns committed to a child-friendly agenda, this could arguably negate the creation of areas that the 'right' type of family competes to live in.

3.5.1 Methods for children's participation in planning

An important part of the literature in seeking solutions to the problems of children's participation focuses on methods. The urban designer Kevin Lynch set about in the 1970s to develop methods planners could use to gather children's views (Lynch, 1977). In his 'Growing up in Cities' project researchers used observation, interviewing, drawing, mapping and photography with children across varying contexts, which Chawla & Unesco (2002) also contended with in the project revival. Similar methods have become tools for researchers in a number of projects. However, there has been a particular focus in the Nordic countries in recent years on developing practical child-centred methods for planning.

In Norway, a focus on methods began when children's representation in planning became a statutory duty, stipulated in the Planning and Building Act, 1989 (revised in 1994). This required all local authorities to have a 'children's representative' who advocates for children's needs and views in planning applications and development of policy, and encourages the representative to engage with children in forming this perspective. Whilst Wilhelm (1995) reported soon after the instigation of the duty that it is not always upheld, Aradi (2010) reports later that planning with children's active participation was everyday practice in at least some parts of the country. Moreover, in the early 1980s, before children's inclusion in planning became statutory in Norway, the planner Eva Almhjell developed a method entitled Children's Tracks. This responded to the fact that she, and other planners in the municipality (Vestfold County), became aware that they knew more about the movements of animals than they did of children. Consequently, 'Children's Tracks' (Barnetråkk) evolved to collect child-informed, systematic data that could improve the quality of plan-making (Barnetråkk, 2015). 'Children's Tracks' (Barnetråkk) involves a planning authority visiting a school and working with children for a short period of time to mark on maps where they do and do not go, and what they like and dislike. To begin with, children would work in small groups and have a local planner to help them. As the project evolved however, planners created an online system to speed up the process for both planners and children. Consequently, from 2006 'Children's Tracks' in Norway has been available as a digital and paper-based platform (Aradi, 2010).

The publicly available guidelines for 'Children's Tracks' suggest participants are initially asked to:

- 'Think about the route you take to and from school
- How do you feel about it?
- What places are pleasant and why?
- Are there any particular places that you find scary or dangerous?
- Do you wish for any specific features where you live? Describe' (Barnetråkk, 2015)

They then complete the ‘registration’ element of the online version to:

- Locate their school and home.
- Draw their route to school
- Use selected icon stickers to highlight places that are either positive or negative. They can then describe what they do and do not like and the activities they associate with these places.

Once children have completed this part, the mapping system automatically collates the data and sends it to the municipality. Planners can then use this information to inform their practice, and the authors encourage planners to visit the classes that were involved to explain what they found out, how they used the information, and what they plan to do next. They also suggest that if any issues come up as particularly important to a class, this presents a good opportunity for pupils to undertake their own projects and community work to raise attention to and help solve a problem. The website for the project suggests that 90 out of 428 municipalities have followed this methodology to help meet their commitments to children’s involvement (Barnetråkk, 2015).

Using a similar method to Children’s Tracks in her PhD research, Marketta Kyttä in Finland extended the ideas of collecting qualitative style data in a map format to combine with the traditional ‘hard data’ of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) (Kahila & Kyttä, 2009). This led to SoftGIS, which has been used for a number of projects in Finland, and now extends as software to be used by researchers, planners and related professionals around the world (GIM International, 2011). Indeed, researchers in Sweden have used a similar approach for their program entitled ‘Children’s maps in GIS’ and found it to have key advantages over other methods of children’s participation, in that it is simultaneously child-friendly, teacher-friendly and planner-friendly, not necessarily requiring a planner to be present at the data collection (Berglund & Nordin, 2007; Berglund, 2008). This approach sits within those collectively called Public Participatory Geographic Information Systems (PPGIS), and there are becoming increasingly influential for involving all types of people in community engagement in planning (McCall, 2015). Moving away from internet-based methods to more exploratory methods however, Cele (2006) unearths a number of ways to help children communicate their place preferences in her thesis. These include walking interviews, drawing routes to school, and focus groups, which with the right resources can communicate a number of elements of children’s experiences that are otherwise difficult to access.

Whilst Norway, Finland and Sweden appear to be leading the way in developing child-friendly participation methods for planning, there are some notable examples of other individual projects that take interesting approaches. Cunningham et al. (2003) discuss the use of a story competition to find children’s views for a strategic plan in Australia. They received 269 entries from children age between 6 and 12, and note this was effective in understanding the viewpoints of children and the

matters that meant most to them for the future. Yet, it does also ground the approach in education and competition, which can exclude children from participating on their own terms. Mallan et al. (2010) also use an innovative approach in their education-based research by exploring how the virtual reality game 'second life' may help bring children into the planning process. This had mixed results, and would require further development for successful use in practice. In contrast, Horelli & Kaaja (2002) suggest an internet-based design game where the participating children had better luck navigating the system, and through which they could successfully suggest their ideas. This hails the way for other exploratory online gaming methods that may make children's participation more systematic with the right resources. Indeed, in planning practice and research there is an emerging enthusiasm to use the popular game Minecraft to bring children's views into planning and development (Donnelly, 2015; Geddes Institute, 2015; Magnussen & Lidenhoff Elming, 2015). As this is in its infancy, it will be interesting to watch how such methods develop. What is important to consider however is the resources and skills that planners already have, or can easily develop, so that children's participation can become an element of current planning reality, and not just a hope for the future (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013).

3.6 Conclusion

The participation of a range of groups in the planning process is now common practice and widely integrated into planning literature. Scottish policy and practice reflects this trend, building on initial ideas set out in the Skeffington (1969) report, to set basic minimum standard for community involvement. What is clear however is that participatory standards are often low in the profession and incentives may not be wide enough for planners to diversify their practices, and consider approaches that would bring a greater range of people into the process. Indeed, from a community perspective, planning is still often seen as undemocratic and unfair (Planning Democracy, 2012; Inch, 2014).

This chapter has reviewed available literature on the involvement of children in planning, finding that there are few examples from the UK in terms of true planning projects, and few international examples of strategic and comprehensive approaches. However, there is increasing development of the Child Friendly City model, and methods in Norway, Sweden and Finland that provide hope that these approaches will emerge for use in practice and research in the future. Planning practice is often complex and involves large numbers of players with more political and social power than children. This means it is not easy to bring a children's rights view into an existing system, however, as Knowles-Yanez (2005, p. 12) emphasises:

‘The experiences and desires of childhood and adolescence do have much to offer planning practice, and in turn, the experience of being involved in planning practice has much to teach children about citizenship, responsibility and participation’

This sets the stage for an exploration of how children could be brought into planning theory and practice, and the important aspects of power that shape both planning participation and children’s participation need to be addressed. Chapter four will bring these threads together and offer a theoretical framework to explore through the rest of this thesis.

Chapter Four: Planning, Power, and Children's Participation

With a paradigm shift towards welcoming citizen participation in planning, debates in planning theory and practice have moved away from its merits, and towards questions of who does, and who does not participate. Meanwhile, debates around children's participation in society have followed similar lines, questioning the commitments and structures in place for children's meaningful participation; which children do and do not get involved (and particularly which age groups); and the declining extent of children's independent mobility. What emerges from both debates is the complex reality of power in political and social systems, and what this means for planning processes and outcomes. To address this, power needs to be understood and analysed directly, taking into account power in adult-child relations, between planner and non-planning adults, and the relationship of wider political systems to planning and children.

This chapter examines these in tandem, by firstly understanding the theoretical basis of deliberative democracy, and then presenting an alternative view of power, participation and planning by exploring Foucault's governmentality and heterotopia. Ultimately, it brings into question the equity of competence-based models of participation in planning and reiterates Gillespie's (2013) call to 'write children into planning theory'. These explorations build a theoretical framework to carry through in the remaining chapters of this thesis. In doing this, a planning that is more openly accepting of difference may emerge.

4.1 Deliberative democracy and Communicative Planning Theory

Deliberative democracy is a 'process of discussion, debate and criticism which aims to solve collective problems' (Young, 1997, p. 400). It can also have the underlying intent to educate citizens in the views and beliefs of others, and the general running of political systems (Barnes et al. 2007). This is now the bedrock of planning theory and practice, striving to overcome some of the inherent pitfalls of representative democracy, that in a planning context, has been presumed not to function adequately on behalf of the public (Skeffington, 1969). Habermas's (1990) communicative action theory provides the framework for this fair and balanced engagement, as envisaged in Forester's (1989) Communicative Planning Theory. I expand on the underlying precepts of Habermas's theory, to establish how children may be brought more centrally into decision-making processes.

Habermas's communicative competence denotes norms of communication and ways to debate that make a participatory process rational. Webler (1995: 44) specifies four elements of communicative competence:

- 'cognitive competence- the ability of an individual to master the rules of formal logic;
- speech competence- mastery of linguistic rules;
- pragmatic competence- mastery of pragmatic rules; and
- role competence- mastery of rules for interactions'.

An understanding of these, and consistency in enacting them allows everyone an equal opportunity to participate and understand each other in Habermas's 'ideal speech situation' (Habermas & MacCarthy 2002). In this, participants commit to rational discussion in pursuit of a consensus because they can present a claim to truth whilst disconnecting from individual interests. Everyone taking part can question and challenge any assertion made without the powers and pressure of the outside world that may otherwise prevent someone from entering the forum (external pressure), or effect their ability to communicate effectively whilst within it (internal pressure). This leads to the only force in the process being that of 'the better argument' (Habermas, 1990, p. 198).

To elaborate on the conditions of communicative competence and their importance in rational deliberation, Habermas takes a particular focus on speech acts. He uses three terms from speech act theory to explain how a spoken discourse works:

- Locution- what is said (the content);
- Illocution- how it is said (the performance); and
- Perlocution- the effect of the content and performance on the hearer. (Habermas & MacCarthy 2002).

In doing this, he explains that the perlocution is formed by an individual's assessment of the truthfulness of the person making the claim, and its rightness in terms of the extent to which it abides by given norms and expectations (Finlayson, 2005). Given that others will evaluate a person's claim to truth along these terms, it is vital for a rational process that all participants of the forum share communicative norms. Without this, individuals may misunderstand others and distort the process of reaching a consensus (Habermas, 1996). It is thus in the name of effective discussion and negotiation that communicative competence be a precursor to participation.

Advocates of Communicative Planning Theory recognise that in practice it is not possible to ensure all participants meet communicative competence, and abide by communicative norms. For instance, in practice:

'groups seek to extend their power by attempting to restrict argumentation by excluding participants, making unfounded appeals to rationality , strategically obscuring issues or manipulating opinion' (McGuirk, 2001, p. 197).

However, the ideal speech situation remains something to strive towards because of its aims at inclusivity and discovering new points of view (Forester, 1989, 1999, Healey, 1999, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2010). Distortions then are not a failure in collaborative processes, but are when the planner, in their role as facilitator must find ways to mitigate and control the distortion (Forester, 1999). In theory, this ensures planners can achieve inclusivity and consensus in all collaborative decision making. Yet, whether children can fit into this approach is a neglected enquiry.

4.1.1 Bracketing power

Countering the exclusiveness of participatory regimes, some scholars, particularly in feminism, draw on 'the politics of difference', which recognises that those presiding over a deliberative process decide the norms of communication. This means those best-suited to participate are of the same social group as the facilitators (Young, 2000; Matthews & Hastings, 2013). As a consequence, the exclusion of certain groups from debate can become habitual, even if unintentional. Thus, Young (2000) criticises Habermas's communicative action by arguing that it conveniently 'brackets' power. This is a frequent concern of planning theorists, who argue that Communicative Planning Theory diminishes the opportunity for participants to freely express strong differences, and can attempt to force consensus where consensus is neither possible nor even desirable (Hillier, 2003). The theories of Mouffé (2000) have consequently become popular in offering a more inclusive form of participation in what scholars term 'agonistic planning'. However, whilst the consensus debate is no doubt salient, there are larger structural issues that result from bracketing power. In particular, Young (2000) raises concerns that 'the terms of discourse make assumptions some do not share, the interaction privileges specific styles of expression,' and 'the participation of some people is dismissed as out of order' (p.53). This means in planning, that people with valid views and opinions, but limited understanding of how to present themselves along the established norms, must either invest time and effort in learning them, or self-exclude (Inch, 2014).

Following arguments related to unequal power distribution, there exist some groups in society that never realise that any opportunity for their participation exists. This narrows the range of values and opinions that ever get expressed in Habermas's deliberative democracy; reinforces existing structural inequalities in society; and perpetuates a non-inclusive understanding of what is rational and

competent. As a result, Young (2000) argues that current understandings of deliberation simply aggregate the interests of a narrow range of people, and neglect structural inequalities that remain the largest barrier to social justice in decision-making. For this reason, Habermas's communicative action does not adequately address external exclusion (Young, 2000; Fung, 2004). In response, Young (2000) suggests moving away from seeing communicative competence as a requirement, and towards seeing it as a virtue. She recommends a focus on participants' reasonableness instead, which requires only that they are open to the ideas of other people.

Focusing on the exclusion of certain groups in the planning process, Sandercock (1998) writes that differences such as gender, class, race or sexual orientation challenge, enrich and contribute to a more emancipatory politics. However, researchers have paid little attention to the exclusion of people on the grounds of age and, as Gillespie (2013) notes, the difference between child and adult and its implications for planning are often overlooked. In particular, Webler's (1995) list of competencies for deliberation (p.78) require 'mastery' of a range of skills that many adults, let alone children, are unlikely to meet. With this, even Young's (2000) move to consider reasonableness in participation requires adults to view children as reasonable, or allow children a chance to prove this to adults. This helps illustrate how adult-bias across political arenas remains ignored, or even replicated in theories of difference (Kulynych, 2001; Prilleltensky et al., 2001). Kulynych (2001: 250) comments that in a time when adults use children and their faces to sell a range of products "from presidential candidates to grape juice to underwear, it is often appalling how little political debate addresses the actual impacts of major policy decisions on children". This exclusion from debates about inclusivity in politics is problematic in the context of children's rights. Structural exclusion occurs because children generally either do not, or are assumed not to possess the same competencies as adults. This means that both communicative action and Young's ideas remain incompatible with a rights-based approach to children's participation that would require no pre-requisites.

Kulynych (2001) suggests that the exclusion of children from politics is similar in nature to the historic exclusion of women and slaves from politics. Women were assumed dependent on and represented by their husbands, slaves were assumed dependent on and represented by their masters, and children are assumed dependent on and represented by their parents. Like both women and slaves, society sees those that defy established norms as deviant, and such disorderliness serves to confirm their inability to participate. Therefore, Kulynych (2001) argues that norms of competence and rationality now include women and abhor slavery and it is now time to accept children into the fray of democracy. Therefore, a change of approach is required throughout society if institutions wish to commit to the UNCRC (James et al., 1998; Jenks, 2005). This means both challenging society's views and planning's norms. Overcoming this requires further analysis of children's

exclusion from social and political life, which becomes clearer when a different conception of power and rationality is brought to the fore.

4.2 Planning and Foucault

To challenge communicative norms and conceptions of rationality, Richardson & Flyvbjerg (2002) argue for a re-orientation in planning theory from Habermas to Foucault. They consider Habermas's belief in a lack of coercion in an ideal speech situation, and reliance on only the force of the better argument is flawed because 'when we understand power we see that we cannot rely solely on democracy based on rationality to solve our problems' (Flyvbjerg, 1998b p.234). Similarly, when we realise that children have their own insights into place, and that their incompetence is socially constructed, we cannot continue to condone their exclusion from decision-making along these lines.

Through conducting historical genealogy, Foucault theorised power not as something to possess, but as something to exert. This stretches from institutions to individuals, through complex networks and relations. We can thus understand it better through analysing the networks that exert it in what he terms governmentality (Foucault, 2008). Examining these shows how practices of government play out in everyday situations between individuals (Mckee, 2009). Foucault defines this succinctly as 'the conduct of conduct' (Foucault, 1991a), and likens these structures to the form of a chain (Foucault, 1980). Therefore, those that can exert the most power are those that have access to the top of the chain, in the form of resources, technologies, or networks of power, such as decision-making processes.

Foucault (1988a) identifies four features of governmentality:

- technologies of production;
- technologies of sign systems;
- technologies of power; and
- technologies of the self,

of which he is most interested in the latter two. Technologies of power are concerned with governing others, whilst technologies of the self are concerned with the way we govern ourselves, and these are intricately intertwined. For instance, Foucault (1977) provides the overlapping examples of normalisation; surveillance; classification; hierarchisation; distribution of rank; individualisation; and examination as technologies of the self in the prison system. Institutions

embody and enforce these regulations themselves, but in so doing, infiltrate into the subjectivities of inmates, who even in their limited personal freedom will self-regulate. These actions can transform individuals into an order where they can attain happiness, purity and wisdom (Foucault, 1988a). However, the inmates of the prison are still free to resist the power exerted on them by using a variety of tactics.

In the context of governmentality, a powerful decision is one implemented by a vast network of people. If a decision is not implemented it is not powerful, no matter its scope (Gallagher, 2008b). This is because having access to networks/technologies/resources of power is only a *potential* to exert it. This same concept holds true in a representative democracy, as citizens do not have the power to vote, but the *potential* to exert the power to vote, which many people do not enact, and is reserved for those above the voting age. This means power relations are often invisible and fluid, changing over the course of even short bursts of interaction between individuals (Foucault, 1991a). These networks allow governing institutions to extend the hand of governance into people's everyday lives by moving away from direct governance, to complex administrative procedure (Rose, 1999; Smith, 2014). What results is governable subjects who have been encouraged to govern themselves, meaning we cannot hold all power accountable because it does not have a face. With this, the conscious actions of individuals can lead to unconscious acts of domination (Cruikshank, 1999). Yet, contributing to the misplaced totality of the being vs becoming debate in the sociology of childhood (where children are seen as either one or the other), governmentality can elucidate how power relations do not render children powerless (Gallagher, 2008a,b). For example, in contrast to traditional conceptions of power, governmentality can both include the exertion of power by, and on children, rendering them actors in the complex web of social and political relations.

Instead of focusing on rationality, a Foucauldian understanding of power in planning focuses on domination and how to limit it in the interests of the public good (Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002). To Cruikshank (1999), it is particularly important to understand that all acts of power are both voluntary and coercive, so that even in an ideal speech situation, the subjectivities of those involved would be voluntarily and coercively influenced by the structure of the participatory exercise. This is not inherently good nor bad, but must be understood so that exercises of power are cognisant of the complexity and myriad of effects their actions could be having on other people. Indeed, in referring to Habermas, Foucault (1988b p.18) states:

'The problem is not of trying to dissolve [relations of power] in the utopia of a perfectly transparent communication, but to give...the rules of law, the techniques of management, and also the ethics...which would allow these games of power to be played with a minimum of domination.'

From this, we can infer that participatory planning's main aim should be to reduce domination and open debate up to non-standard forms of expression and communication, as already encouraged by Young's (2000) inclusive democracy. In this sense, Foucauldian thinking is sensitive to difference and can remove the drive towards conformity that communicative action entails (Flyvbjerg, 1998). This would be beneficial to all people that currently feel excluded from the system as 'it is about using tools of analysis to understand power, its relations with rationality and knowledge, and use the resulting insights precisely to bring about change.' (Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002, p. 56). Therefore, Foucault's investigations 'rest on a postulate of absolute optimism' (Foucault, 1991b, p. 174) with power being capable of inducing pleasure, a variety of forms of knowledge and positive social relations (Foucault, 2003). In understanding this, the search for a more positive governmentality can begin.

4.3 Foucault and children's participation in planning

A key aim of human rights instruments is to reduce the potential for domination by one group over another and equalise the power relations between those in disadvantaged positions, and those with access to networks of power. In this sense, rights-based approaches can help achieve Foucauldian aims of challenging domination. Indeed, the UNCRC fits the definition of a technology of power, as in Foucault's logic, it has the potential to extend networks of power relations to those who currently have limited access. However, like all technologies of power, if it is not used then it remains a potential.

Foucault's reasoning suggests a positive governmentality can come about if the UNCRC is used sensitively and reflexively, with cognisance of the complexities and difficulties in assigning clear and static power relations. Thus, the ideal scenario for children's participation in planning is that the system integrates the UNCRC, and this technology of power allows children a meaningful say in matters that affect them (Article 12), and in participating in space (Article 31). However, Foucauldian understanding of power, and the prevailing dominance of Communicative Planning Theory suggests that without sensitivity and reflection, a less emancipatory scenario is likely. Indeed, the UNCRC and its need for adult interpretation may not always bring about the desired result for children to participate meaningfully in decisions that affect them (Gadda, 2008; Cele & van der Burgt, 2013). It is this issue that pits traditional Foucauldian analysis at odds with human rights instruments, viewing them as another act of domination. In fact, Foucault himself was broadly against social interventions into the lives of individuals (Fraser, 1985). However, I argue here that

whilst taking a sensitive approach to enactment of the UNCRC is demanding, it remains a robust framework for challenging the dominance enacted on children's lives, that is increasingly restricting their participation.

Pulling the previous threads together, there appear two likely common real-world scenarios for children's participation through either a frame of Communicative Planning Theory, or an uncritical view of children's rights:

Premise one: Adults exclude children from participating because they lack competence, or include them in some way, but give greater weight to the views and spatial embodiment of rational adults.

Or

Premise two: Adults recognise children's exclusion from participation as a problem, and so they empower them to meet the necessary competence requirements, enabling them to participate on more equal grounds.

Premise one is rooted in the modern construction of childhood detailed previously, whilst premise two has increased in emphasis since the UNCRC came to fruition, but can also be part of non-rights based moves for greater social justice. However, neither scenario is conducive to giving children a meaningful say in matters that affect them, or in recognising their right to participate in the places of everyday life. The remainder of this chapter therefore focuses on firstly exploring and dispelling the myth that children are necessarily incompetent to participate, and secondly that training them to be competent is necessarily beneficial to children's participation and the planning profession. I then suggest how to use Foucauldian theory to uncover a more emancipatory approach to children's participation.

4.3.1 Premise One: challenging the dominant view of childhood

Reframing the modern conception of childhood detailed in chapter two through Foucauldian theory shows that the dominant framework centres on protection and education, and increasingly relies on the knowledge and advice of the technical expert (Prilleltensky, 1994; Rose, 1999; Smith, 2014). Therefore, though children's exclusion from employment and increasing focus on education has had positive effects in ensuring their protection and care, it has also led to a more limited understanding of their competency and ability to participate in social and political life. With children in a developmental stage, and presumably incapable of understanding the complexity of society, it is the adult guardian or expert that speaks on their behalf. This means adults may assume that all knowledge a child possesses has been imparted to them by adults, and so logically a child cannot say

anything someone over a certain age, commonly now 18, cannot. This makes hearing children's voices as a political practice unnecessary, and negates children a chance to prove otherwise (Lee, 2001). Indeed, the silence of their voice reinforces the perception that their views are not required.

The consequence of viewing children as a combination of incompetent, irrational, disorderly, vulnerable and dependent, as Kulynych (2001: 262) states, is that:

‘The disorderly are persons about whom we debate, not with whom we debate. They are problems to be addressed, not persons to address. Democratic theory that creates insiders and outsiders along an order/disorder dichotomy converges with contemporary social discourse to construct children as outsiders and silence the voices of a large portion of the world's population’

Childish behaviour is thus widely seen as the opposite of political behaviour (Kallio, 2008), and the disorderliness associated with children contrasts with the orderliness required of Habermas's deliberative democracy (Kulynych, 2001). This leaves little room for more nuanced understandings of children, and for recognising when they are and are not capable of voicing an opinion. However, as Foucauldian insights can explain why this has come to be, they can also explore how they may be overcome.

Foucauldian critiques have shown the role of modern professions in disciplinary regimes and in embedding social norms. To expose these, Foucault and his allies used his method of genealogy to reveal ‘subjugated knowledge’ which arise in forms not generally considered knowledge, and that have been buried or disguised (Foucault 1994). Once recovered, they represent struggles of difference against dominant norms, and give a clearer insight into the assumptions of the present. Genealogy has become popular with researchers uncovering abuses of power and historical neglect of marginalised groups. Yet, like the politics of difference, genealogy that puts children at its centre is not prolific. Indeed, important genealogies such as Rose's (1999) ‘Governing the Soul’ focuses on the role of educators, reformers and parents rather than on children themselves. With this lack of analysis comes an increased ability of adults to see the dominant view of childhood dependence and vulnerability as fact. However, as the past 30 years have given rise to increased legitimacy of the study of children as the primary focus of research in sociology, genealogy to better understand the construction of childhood is gaining momentum. This subjugated knowledge often focuses on the everyday participation, to suggest the competence children can show in more formal processes.

Gillespie (2013) illustrates how society has not always seen children as out of place in urban life. She constructs a ‘recovered history’ of childhood using the news boys and girls (‘newsies’) of New York in the 1890s. This reveals the agency and respect a social group of child newspaper-sellers

commanded in their own right, and the competence they showed in organising their own social systems; a city-wide strike; and in raising money and organising a co-worker's funeral. Meanwhile, Gagen (2000) takes the child-focused domain of the playground as her object of enquiry. She exposes how instead of being the natural space of children in the city, playgrounds developed in the early 20th century in America out of growing adult fears of immigrant populations threatening traditional cultural values. Playgrounds were then used as an adult tool to structure the lives of children, train them in how to be American, and conform to traditional gender roles. As a result, there is subjugated knowledge that playgrounds were at least as much about helping adults find solace in a rapidly changing environment, as they were about children being incompetent in city life.

Kozlovsky (2008) follows a similar line of critique to Foucault's analysis of the prison system, in what adventure playgrounds and architecture mean for children. He argues adventure playgrounds have historically served as spaces to monitor and understand the behaviour of children (who largely come) from disadvantaged backgrounds. Meanwhile, school design can exert a form of social control and surveillance on what children do. With this, Gallagher (2004) investigates the geographies of the primary school environment to understand how they mould and govern the body and minds of children as they grow up. Despite this, children find tactics of resistance. For instance, 'They can run away or hold still, use the toilet or wet their pants, eat or refuse to eat, follow a healthy diet or grow fat or thin' (Kallio, 2008, p. 126). This extension of the theory of governmentality to empirical understandings brings children into geopolitical discussion, where they have historically been excluded (Philo & Smith, 2003).

4.3.1.1 Children's embodiment in space and the planning system

The tactics of resistance that children can use arguably contributes to an adult compulsion to mould their subjectivities, and reserve elements of social and political participation for later in life (Gallagher, 2004). Whilst children may not be 'Political' in the sense of voting rights, they are 'political', even in their voicelessness through the ways they embody, or are restricted from embodying, public space and debate (Skelton, 2010; Kallio & Häkli, 2011). In the context of the environment, children's presence or exclusion is part of political discourse itself, and children are frequently acting in political ways, even if they, or others, would not describe their actions as such (Kallio & Häkli, 2011; Lester, 2014; Cele & van der Burgt, 2015). With this, children can make a political point through their participation in the process of decision-making by drawing pictures, partaking in interviews, walking tours, becoming co-researchers, or simply by playing in public space. What then emerges is a logical view that children exert power as adults do, but in different

ways, in different situations, and often with less self-awareness. This makes children equal but different to adults (Harden et al., 2000). Their capabilities and vulnerabilities vary and are more nuanced than dominant norms portray, yet political and social systems neglect a critical view of their needs, as well as capabilities.

If children's capabilities are often not well understood, and systems of governance can exclude them, then it is important to address how the planning system has historically interacted with some of the environmental problems that children face today. In particular, the planning system has been complicit in the decline of outdoor space for children to play, which has arguably been instrumental in the development of the playwork profession.

Playwork and town planning were officially established around the same time in the UK. For playwork, this came about with the post-war concern with the increasingly functionalist way places were being designed, which created space and social attitudes at odds with the playful child (Kozlovsky, 2008). The profession originated with the birth of adventure playgrounds, first heralded by the Danish landscape architect Carl Theodor Sørensen in 1931. Watching children playing with leftover materials on construction sites inspired him to propose:

'Perhaps we should try to set up waste material playgrounds in suitable large areas where children would be able to play with old cars, boxes, and timber. It is possible there would have to be some supervision to prevent children fighting too wildly and to lessen the chances of injury' (Allen, 1971)

This led to the building of the first 'junk' playground, and a movement began, spreading to the UK after Lady Allen of Hurtwood visited Denmark in 1946. Heavily involved in movements to improve children's lives, it struck her that 'junk' playgrounds held the potential both to provide children of all circumstances an opportunity for free play, and to revive the many bombsites blighting post-war English cities. These playgrounds would be in contrast to traditional ones which are:

'a place of utter boredom for the children, and it is little wonder that they prefer the dumps of rough wood and piles of bricks and rubbish of the bombed sites, or the dangers and excitements of the traffic' (Allen, 1946, pp. 26–27).

Through Allen's advocacy, in 1951 a bombsite in London became the UK's first venture, however due to local opposition that a 'junk' playground would lead to hooliganism, 'junk' playgrounds were renamed 'adventure' playgrounds from then on (Benjamin, 1974; Kozlovsky, 2008).

Whilst adventure playgrounds and playwork still exist today, planning has often inhibited their agenda. For instance, Allen's vision was for bombsites across English cities to become locally-run

and managed adventure playgrounds, as part of the process of urban renewal (Wilson, 2013). This mission was partially fulfilled. However, the model of grass roots, child-centred development was at odds with the 1943 County of London Plan (Forshaw & Abercrombie, 1943), which conceived of the Blitz as an opportunity for extensive redevelopment of the city in line with the dominant, rationalist planning ideology. Consequently, at the end of the 1950s most of the ten adventure playgrounds set up in London were returned to their owners for redevelopment (Kozlovsky, 2008), and this trend was replicated across the country (Benjamin, 1974).

Today, the playwork mission is ‘to create environments that enable children to experience the sort of play opportunities and experiences that have been lost from daily life’ (Children’s Play Information Service, n.d). However, adventure playgrounds are now only one part of what playworkers do. Table 4.1 shows how each profession (playwork and planning) is organised, and the disconnection between the facilitation of each on the part of national and local government. Despite this history of opposition, positioning the professions of planning and playwork as distinct and separate is incompatible with the social justice and public interest aims of both. For instance, playwork partially compensates for environments that are not child friendly, but this lack of attention to children’s needs has been aided by the planning system over the course of its history. The dominant paradigm of planning for economic growth can render adult ambitions for place above those of children (Wood, 2015). This arguably encourages a need for the playwork profession to exist, but also restricts playworkers’ abilities to carry forward their principles. Conversely, if planning knew how, and was willing to focus on creating child friendly environments, then adventure playgrounds and playwork may not need to exist (James, 1974). These issues are arguably rooted in the dominant view of childhood as it has progressed over time, and conceptions of play as a discrete activity, inferior to the work of adults.

Table 4.1 The Origins, Aims and Organisations of Town Planning and Playwork in the UK.

	Town Planning	Playwork
Origin	Overcrowding, lack of housing, and the demands of modernisation.	Loss of space for children to play. Potential of vacant bombed sites to facilitate new opportunities for children.
Aim	To organise space in the public’s long-term interest. In Scotland, this follows the pursuit of sustainable economic growth.	To give children the sorts of play opportunities often lost in modern times.
Organisations	National and Local government, Private Consultants, Limited Third Sector actors.	National and Local Government, and the Third Sector.

4.3.2 Premise two: governmentality and a child's right to participate

I move here to premise two where children's participation does receive some attention, either linked to the UNCRC or a general aim of inclusivity. At present adults must advocate for children's rights, using their access to networks and technologies of power to reduce adult dominance to an extent that children have a genuine opportunity to enact the UNCRC themselves (or assert non-adult enforced ideas about their needs and abilities). At present, adults have monopoly over the enactment and interpretation of the UNCRC, and with the prevailing dominance of Communicative Planning Theory's norms, the dominating view of childhood, and pressure on resources, there is a tendency in the planning profession not to think critically about the meaning of children's rights (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013; Wood, 2015). Consequently, enactment of Communicative Planning Theory, in attempting to involve children may reinforce the inadequacy of children's current capabilities. This may exclude them from having a meaningful say in planning matters, and an equitable chance at participation in public space.

In attempting to reduce dominance of particular groups, planning, like many arms of government, attempts to become more inclusive through empowering the marginalised to involve themselves in decision-making. This follows the logic that institutions can solve the domination of particular interests, and therefore improve the wellbeing of marginalised groups, by actively helping more people become involved in the process. The lives of the dominated thus improve if they are trained to put their opinions forward in a politically accepted forum. Empowerment is thus generally viewed as an inherently good action. The perception is that one powerful party bestows some of their power to a less powerful party and in doing so, the less powerful re/gain a sense of ownership in their own affairs. However, when power is seen as a complex network, and not a possession, this logic calls empowerment and its emancipatory potential into question (Cruikshank, 1999).

One of Foucault's aims was to 'focus our attention on how traditional emancipatory theories and strategies have been blind to their own dominating tendencies' (Sawicki, 1991: 97). Indeed, governmentality suggests empowerment reproduces dominance as

'by not recognising that knowledge is produced out of power relations in society . . . participatory methodologies are in danger of reifying these inequalities and of affirming the agenda of elites and other more powerful actors' (Kothari, 2001, p. 145).

This means acts of empowerment use technologies of power to encourage self-help for the subordinated citizen, and whilst this may improve their lives, it also serves to indirectly harmonise the interests of individuals with the interests of all society. In this logic, the marginalised are framed

by what they lack, and professionals use methods to align their capacities with the dominant norms of the ideal (or more governable) citizen. This is 'emblematic of the liberal arts of government' (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 48) and means, in this case, that what children lack is conformity to adult ideals.

Hartung (2011), in her thesis 'Governing the Agentic Child', finds many examples of empowerment strategies that dominate children. She uses the example of Woolcombe's (1996 p.1) definition for its very explicit agenda and understanding of what a child should and should not be:

'Empowerment is the process whereby you take a shy child and transform him or her into a confident, self-assured young person, able to contribute effectively and responsibly to society. When the process is followed carefully, an excellent team of motivated young people is created, thrusting energy, vision and new life into adult-directed activity'

Hartung (2011) highlights this as an extreme case, but one that more overtly states what many ideas of empowerment imply. This conception frames children as in need of 'transformation' so that they can experience the rational state adults are presumed to enjoy. Thus, until they are rational, society will not accept them to the same extent as those that already are. This expectation becomes a form of dominance and bestows a conditional, not absolute right to participate. In this context, the empowerment planners enact if they wish to involve children can be both a voluntary and coercive act of moulding them to meet pre-conceived ideas of competence. This means moulding them to engage in the same way as the adults they are used to engaging with, rather than recognising their worth as child participants in daily and political life. This may dilute some of the benefits of gaining a child's perspective on the world (Cairns, 2006; Hartung, 2011). Meanwhile in the built environment, the most pleasingly child-like children are provided formalised play opportunities, such as playgrounds, and children with access to the funds can participate in a range of commercialised play opportunities (McKendrick et al., 2000a,b). However, children that fail to fall within traditional views of what a child should be, or do not display adult-like characteristics, become excluded.

Building on the dominance of empowerment methodologies, Barnes et al. (2007) explain that a key technology of power in policy making is the know-how of state officials to conduct community engagement. Meanwhile, Innes & Booher (2010), in looking at many cases of adult participation in planning, emphasise that successful participatory schemes generally provide both training to officials conducting the participation, and those to be involved. In Scotland, this role is undertaken by PAS, and includes educational training for children (PAS, 2015). Therefore, from a Foucauldian perspective, the way planning systems enact participation attempts to mould individuals into the type of participant they feel most at ease in governing. This is problematic for a political system that

wishes to recognise and accept difference and to hear the voices of the marginalised, but is perhaps elucidated most clearly in the case of children. Children are not incompetent in public life, but are incompetent at being adults. However exactly what constitutes a competent and rational adult is also unclear in the context of governmentality, with empowerment efforts often focused on marginalised adult groups that fail to conform to rational standards (Cruikshank, 1999; Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

Lee (2001) argues that the dichotomy between children as an unfinished project, and adults as a finished, fully rational product is increasingly problematic. For instance, whilst adulthood was once fairly fixed (an adult finds a job, gets married, raises a family and life remains relatively stable), society now emphasises flexibility and life-long learning; accepts a broader range of familial structures; and is consequently subject to similar uncertainties as childhood. He suggests instead of viewing ‘growing up’ as something that occurs only in childhood, we should acknowledge it as a lifelong process, marked only as a ‘slowing down’ in the growing up as one ages. In a similar line of argument, Gallagher (2004) suggests that instead of framing the problem of not recognising children as competent in the terms of what a child is not, we could do better to frame it in terms of what an adult also is not. Currently, ‘liberalism fails to capture the nature of the subject as always in the process of being made and remade...whereas Foucault’s vision is one of humans as always transforming, growing, becoming’ (Gallagher, 2004, p. 209) which lends itself to debates in childhood studies. Thus, society could become more socially just if adults acknowledge they too face similar uncertainties as children, and also rely on help and services from others. Perhaps then, this changeability calls into question the superior qualification of adults to be preferentially provided for and involved in the matters that affect them. I now turn to developing this theory to produce a framework through which to analyse the empirical data presented in chapters six to nine.

4.4 Building a framework for children’s participation in place

Children’s Article 12 right in the planning process is one aspect of their participation, which links, but can also be independent of a child’s participation in place (Article 31). As Gillespie (2013) concludes

‘the true test of children’s inclusion and the development of adult capacities to genuinely engage children may rest more on children’s [re]integration into the informal aspects of public space, rather than their formal participation in planning processes’.

This builds on views of children as political actors in their everyday lives; an area that political geographers have paid little attention to (Philo & Smith, 2003; Kallio, 2007; Skelton, 2010). To

address this gap, I propose framing children's participation in space in Foucault's heterotopia (Foucault, 1986). This spatial theory helps bring governmentality into the built environment, explaining how some features of space have come to be, but also how children understand and transform space through their own actions, as competent social agents (Hart, 1979; Ward, 1990).

Whilst governmentality explains how varying actors create space, Foucault holds that there is more to place than the physical infrastructure. This leads him to talk of heterotopia as 'actually existing utopia' (Johnson, 2006), distinguishing Foucault's ideas from other spatial theorists such as Lefebvre (2011) who place a greater emphasis on revolutionising space. As part of Foucault's general mission of critical moral theory, heterotopia acts to contest and bring new ideas to light. As explained by Johnson (2006), heterotopia 'contains a sense of both space and place that is not conveyed by the word 'site''. These places are spaces between the private and public sphere where culture and leisure occur. For instance, Dehaene & Cauter (2008) use the example of a theatre which, outside of performance times, is a physical building with a stage and seating, but once a performance begins, actors reimagine it into whatever space they require to tell a story. An alternative frame is a boat (Foucault, 1986). This space is both static and moving, with the physical space constant, but the environment changing. It is therefore 'a place without a place' (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) and these heterotopias can exist anywhere, completely hidden from others or deliberately cultivated for a shared experience. For this reason, Dehaene & Cauter (2008) describe them as the places of play, where fantasy can exist alongside reality.

If heterotopias are the spaces of play, where the inner workings of the mind meet an actually existing place, then children have a unique predisposition to access them. Children's play often includes a complex mix of real and imagined, and the play space often reflects and contests this simultaneously (Russell, 2013). Through play, children can break from the networks of power that govern their everyday lives, and heterotopias, knowingly or not, can be sites of resistance for children to the established adult order (McNamee, 2000). For instance, both Ward (1990) and Lester (2014) emphasise the anarchic nature of childhood play. However, taking this back to the logic of governmentality, there is the possibility that dominant ideas about children and about how planning should be done can lead to spaces that eclipse potential heterotopias. Such views may lead to tighter restrictions on what adults permit children to do and constrain their field of free action (Kytä, 2004).

Dehaene & Cauter (2008) extend Foucault's heterotopia to consider how it relates to the management of space, stating:

'We could venture a hypothesis that many heterotopias were translated from event in to building, from time to space, from transient moment to the permanence of a place, and that

this translation occurred in some cases as a structural reaction to a crisis' (p.92)

The planning system in the UK evolved from a need to manage the increasingly complex demands on space in towns and cities. For instance, rapid urbanisation meant a modern economy was emerging that, to continue growing, required a structured land use approach. With increasing density came a crisis in the spread of disease and poor living conditions at the end of the 19th century, and further crises in housing and living conditions post WW1 and WW2 led to further need for the state to intervene in spatial organisation. One of the concerns for planning was idle children hanging around on city streets, and with schooling becoming compulsory, planners needed to allocate more schools and find ways to organise children outside of school hours (Gillespie, 2013).

Combining governmentality with heterotopia to explore the evolution of planning and place helps explain why children's movements have been particularly limited since the 1990s (Shaw et al., 2013). Moreover, Dehaene & Cauter (2008) describe a type of person that is

'hated and adored, expelled and embraced by the polis; always ambiguously hosted as representatives of otherness, of 'the rest'. That is: the sacred, the taboo, the eccentric, the abnormal, the monstrous, the secret, the extraordinary, the grandiose, the genius, the irrational, the transgressive, the frivolous or simply the aimless' (p.96)

These people seek heterotopia in all space, and the authors describe them as artists, wandering philosophers, religious leaders and other kinds of eccentric 'others'. However, it parallels descriptions of children (c.f Cahill, 1990), who are always trying to experience a new and playful experience in any place (Lester, 2014; Ward, 1990). This corresponds with Russell & Lester's (2013) theory that children do not 'play' in a discrete, definable way, but wayfare through space (see chapter two page 29). Arguably, the crisis of children playing in the street was motivated by children's ability to reimagine organised space into their own imagination, and this became inconsistent with modern demands for formal organisation. It may now be time for a crisis in the independent mobility of children to spur a different approach to land use planning.

In contrast to other spatial interpretations, heterotopia is about understanding how people live in the present, realising that a single place simultaneously contains 'several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). This formulation is helpful in understanding the playful ways children use and imagine space. Yet, varying interpretations have criticised the scarce development of heterotopia as a concept, its loose nature (Genocchio, 1995; Soja, 1996; Johnson, 2013), or its synergies with Lefebvre's theories (Soja, 1996). Johnson (2013, p. 2) on the other hand promotes this loose approach to heterotopia. He sees it as a useful tool of analysis that can shed light on how difference has, and continues to influence space. It allows existing sites to be both the topic of

analysis, and aid in the analysis. Indeed, in relation to many popular interpretations of heterotopia, Sohn (2008, p. 48) explains:

‘Treating all spaces and human groups that deviate from the established order as potentially subversive, challenging and resistant formations, and hence reading into them all sorts of positive, utopian transformative powers endowed by their liminality, is to miss an essential point of Foucault’s heterotopia: as an ambivalent formulation meant to destabilize discourse and language, as a rather obscure conception endowed with negativity, defying clarity, logic and order.’

For this reason, I use heterotopia as a tool of analysis and exploration in future chapters to address the playful (rather than confrontational) position that children aged 6-12 have. I now move to build a theoretical model for understanding the quality of children’s participation in the planning process that also includes attention to the spatial outcomes children are likely to gain from becoming involved.

4.5 Building a framework for children’s participation in process

To evaluate approaches to children’s participation in planning in my own research, I have developed a framework in Figure 4.1. This draws on three aspects of participation in a planning context that I have developed in this, and the two preceding chapters. The Figure incorporates:

- the three levels of participation in planning as devised by the charity PAS (Planning Aid for Scotland, 2014);
- Hart’s (1992) ladder of children’s participation (page 29); and
- the levels of adult domination (governmentality) in the process that are associated with each rung of the ladder.

Each element of this model represents a different understanding of the participation process that, when combined, situates the level and appropriateness of children’s involvement within a Foucauldian framework of power.

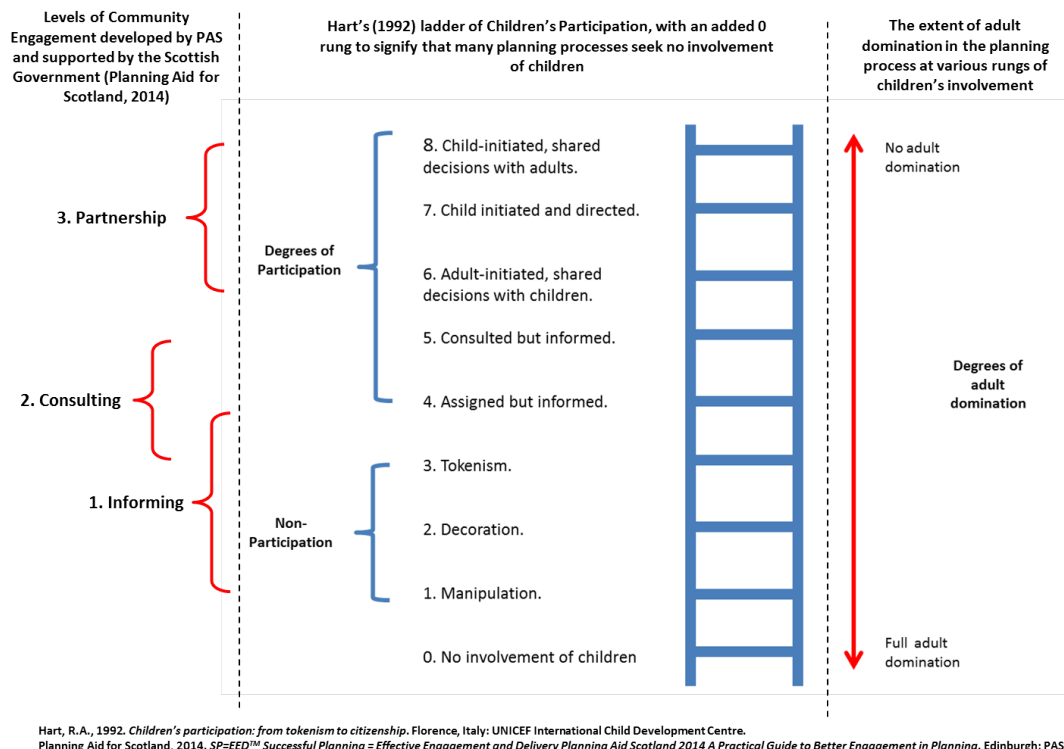


Figure 4.1 A model to assess children's participation in planning situations

PAS's steps (Planning Aid for Scotland, 2014) are important due to their position and influence in Scottish planning practice, and its place promoting community engagement skills by the Scottish Government. Meanwhile, Hart's (1992) ladder of children's participation was produced to establish and measure meaningful participation in light of Article 12 of the UNCRC. This is much used in childhood research, but Malone & Hartung (2010) now call for its theoretical development. To adapt it to planning, I have added the 0 rung of 'no participation of children', as this reflects the experience of many planning authorities across Scotland (Wood, 2015).

Combining the two models shows how the higher rungs of Hart's (1992) ladder fall under the 'partnership' approach encouraged by PAS, which planners are unlikely to achieve with children (or adults) in plan development when the executive decisions always lie with (adult) planners. Meanwhile, the consulting element of PAS's model correlates with the two lowest rungs of participation for children, as consultation generally consists of planners eliciting the opinions of the community on specific aspects of planning. However, the non-participation rung of 'tokenism' is also included under consultation, as it is possible for adults to elicit the views of children, in what they may consider consultation, but make little to no use of those views (Knowles-Yanez, 2005). Alternatively, planners may design a process that makes a genuine attempt to consult children, but is insensitive to their existing competencies, and therefore becomes tokenistic when viewed through Cruikshank's (1999) view of empowerment. The level of 'informing' on PAS's model then covers

the non-participative rungs of Hart's ladder as, whether or not the participants have a true chance of participating in these exercises, they are likely to receive some level of information about the process.

To aid a critical analysis of these instances of engagement, an arrow of domination on Figure 4.1 aligns the levels of participation of children with the corresponding level of adult domination in the process. As research shows the dominant view of childhood often skews the way adults approach their participation (Gallagher, 2008b), the high levels of adult domination correlate with the non-participatory steps of the ladder, but as the ladder moves into the participatory rungs, the level of adult domination decreases, and children have a greater chance of making their views known and seeing some outcomes. This allows for reflection on how adults see their role towards children, and how well the process addresses children's own interests.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the underlying conception of Communicative Planning Theory in Habermas's (1990) Communicative Action. It did this by paying attention to the complexities of power, and consequently what planner-envisaged views of competency could mean for children. By taking a Foucauldian approach, the review considered the extent to which dominant views of children are helpful in encouraging their involvement in planning processes and the places of their everyday lives, as well as calling in to question views of empowerment that can subjugate both adults and children. In bringing these debates to the fore, it suggests the communicative turn in planning theory is not adequate in bringing children into planning, but that a re-orientation towards Foucault could reopen avenues for more inclusive practices in both process and outcome (Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002).

When looking at this issue in the light of children's rights, it becomes clear that current conceptions of the way to do participation either deny children the right to participate altogether, or set unfair precursors to their involvement that misunderstand the varying abilities of children. Improving children's participation is not about finding new structures and frameworks, but being open to children's participation in everyday life and adapting the system, not children (Malone & Percy-Smith, 2001; Malone & Hartung, 2010). Although the UNCRC, in a Foucauldian sense, may be a further way to perpetuate adult dominance on children's lives (Gadda, 2008), if we take power relations and context into account, it has great potential to change the ways of doing participation

for the better. Therefore, if planners want people to participate in a fair and equal way, they need to be open to the forms of communication that come easiest to the participants, such as through the methods suggested in chapter three (page 58).

The theoretical underpinnings explored in this chapter helped build a framework for understanding and evaluating children's participation in the places they inhabit (heterotopia), and in the planning process (governmentality). These foundations are used in chapters six to nine to shed light on the experiences of children in one local area, planners across Scotland, and the development and implementation of policy. This thesis now turns to the methodology and methods to set the context for this further exploration.

Chapter Five: Methodology and Methods

This chapter considers the methodology for the study, presenting ethnographic, participatory and action research approaches, combined with critical discourse analysis. Within this broad approach, I use a variety of methods that I discuss in detail here. These span from task-based methods with primary school children in their classroom, to semi-structured interviews with professionals, to critical discourse analysis of a range of policies. This focuses on the Saughton Park case study, which I introduced in chapter one, but also draws on the interpretation of various actors in their own planning and/or work related to facilitating children's rights.

Following the description of methods, I address the complexity of research ethics with human participants, and particularly primary school children. The critical and ethnographic approach I take also requires attention to my role as researcher in the field and in the presentation of research, which I explore towards the end of the chapter. I then end by considering my own impact on the field, and the techniques and devices of data analysis and presentation that I use to interpret the empirical findings.

5.1 Epistemology and Ontology

Much has already been implied in my literature review in terms of a critical, Foucauldian-inspired approach to the research. This necessitates an appreciation of the complex networks of social relations, and how different actors and structures exert influence over one another. This can be both intentional and unintentional, but necessitates an underlying ontology that complements this complexity. Whilst Foucauldian theory has largely been labelled constructionist, Al-Amoudi (2007) argues that Foucault's approach is in fact complimentary to a critical realist ontology.

Critical realism asserts that there are two sides of knowledge- intransitive and transitive. Intransitive objects of knowledge do not depend on human activity, whilst transitive phenomenon are 'artificial objects fashioned into items of knowledge by the science of the day' (Bhaskar, 1998, p. 11). For

instance, an intransitive object of knowledge would be gravity, which is not dependent on human action. While, a transitive phenomenon could be power, of which various scholars, including Foucault, present a social theory (Bhaskar, 1998; Zachariadis et al., 2010). This means knowledge is a social phenomenon, but we cannot conclude from this that human interpretation alone constructs the object to which it actually refers (Bhaskar, 2008). With this, Sayer (2000, p. 12) argues ‘observability may make us more confident about what we think exists, but existence itself is not dependent on it’.

Al-Amoudi (2007) positions the ideas of transitive and intransitive knowledge as similar in nature to Foucault’s (implicit) ontology. Whilst critical realism supposes that ‘action presupposes both structure and agency; structure enables and constrains; and action reproduces and transforms structure’, Foucault ‘differentiates between biological, individual and social realms’ (Al-Amoudi, 2007, p. 553). Foucault is therefore interested in the interaction between these realms and recognises strategies of power (unconscious processes), and tactics of power (conscious processes initiated for a purpose). Indeed, Foucault’s governmentality draws attention to the enabling, as well as constraining aspects of power. Meanwhile, Fairclough (2005) posits, in his conception of critical realism for critical discourse analysis, that this ontology prioritises an understanding of the relation between the processes that agents perform, and the structures that constrain and enable their practise. I therefore believe that critical realism is helpful in this study, particularly given that town planning consists of social agents and processes, but also seeks to affect physical environmental changes that produce their own enabling and constraining effects. This fits with a view to establishing the links, and potential strategies for change in how children’s participation rights are enacted in both the processes and outcome of the planning system. Ultimately, critical realism recognises the importance of the human experience of the world, but also the complex power relations that influence individual subjectivity (Maxwell, 2012).

Though critical realism gives primacy to ontology (Scott, 2010), here I take an interpretivist epistemology. In the words of Bryman (2012; 28), interpretivism ‘is concerned with the empathic understanding of human action rather than with the forces that are deemed to act upon it’. This has led to concern as to whether critical realism and Interpretivism are compatible, but in defence of this combination Frazer & Lacey (1993, p. 182) argue ‘our knowledge of the real world is inevitably interpretive and provisional rather than straightforwardly representational’ (1993, p. 182). Thus, a softer approach to critical realism, concerned predominantly with the social world, is compatible with interpretivism (Sayer, 2000; Fairclough, 2005; Maxwell, 2012). Indeed, this soft critical realist stance emphasises the effect of agency over structure, whilst still maintaining the importance of their relationship (Fairclough, 2005).

With a philosophical stance of Interpretivism and critical realism, comes an emphasis on the pragmatic mixing of methodologies and research methods, based on the specific topic of study (Sayer, 2000; Maxwell, 2012). This means that neither qualitative nor quantitative data is intrinsically of greater value, but that the topic should define the nature of data required to understand the situation at hand. I consequently employ exclusively qualitative data collection in this project. I do not seek to produce generalisable and representative data sets, but to investigate the research questions given in chapter one through attention to the interpretations of those living particular experiences, and also recognise how my own interpretation of their words and actions influences the research outcomes.

The methodology encompasses three main elements:

1. Ethnography- by placing myself in the role of planner, working with children to engage their views and opinions;
2. Participatory action research- taking the outputs of the children's engagement and working to create a real world result for both researcher and researched; and
3. A critical approach to the discourses (language and spatial) created around children in the process and outcomes of planning.

This forms a critical ethnographic action research approach. I now explain each of these methodological elements in detail to justify their combination in light of the research topic.

5.2 Approaching the research

Ethnography, as both a methodological approach and as a method of participant observation is frequently chosen by researchers investigating children's lives. The benefits are that it allows the researcher to work intensively in the field; view new situations as an insider/outsider; and build trust with participants (Bryman, 2012). Indeed, ethnography is helpful in examining power dynamics between adults and children in an everyday setting that has meaning for them, and thus aligns with a Foucauldian conception of power relations (Christensen, 2004; Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008). Importantly, it can also provide insights into working as an adult in particular areas that may not be possible to empathise with without direct experience.

Relating ethnography to a rights-based research framework, I chose participatory action research as both academic and grey literature in the children's rights sphere emphasise the need for adults to work to overcome the barriers to meeting children's rights. This is part of children having the right to be properly researched (Beazley et al., 2009), and means the outcomes of research projects should not only be for the researcher (who already holds a privileged position) but also for the participants.

It is easy to argue from an adult perspective that being involved in a research project has benefits for children in terms of developing an understanding of democracy, the adult world, and individual self-esteem, yet these benefits presuppose what children should gain from participation (Hartung, 2011). Moreover, ethnography alone may be suitable for education research, but it may fall short of furthering the lived experience of the children's rights, which are the increasing focus of childhood research (Tisdall, 2013; Percy-Smith, 2010; Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010; Tisdall et al., 2006; Tisdall & Davis, 2004). Therefore, a commitment to Article 12 in childhood research means there should be impacts that the children value on their own terms. The action research element of this ethnographic project allowed me to link the children's involvement with a live project, in anticipation that this extends the impact beyond the production of a thesis.

The need for a critical element of the methodology has become clear due to the theoretical framework based on Foucauldian insights. Through this frame, a key topic of study is power relations inherent in governmentality, and the discourses (textual, oral, and spatial) that frame how children participate in place and the planning process. This allowed me to explore the ethics of the built environment, and the instances of power exertion and domination entailed by a largely static environment, and the actors that impose, negotiate and instigate incremental change upon it. This approach is inspired by Foucauldian critical discourse analysis espoused by Fairclough and colleagues (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Critical discourse analysis places power, conflict and struggle at the heart of its mission (Wagenaar, 2011), and aligns strongly with an action-orientated approach. It has aims of 'empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs' (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 449). This is done through textual analysis of written discourse, and it looks for hidden, latent messages within texts, to analyse what is not said as well as what is. It then relates these textual practices back to wider discourses that include the way a text is interpreted and implemented. By taking Fairclough's approach, the research can suggest ways systems manifest and perpetuate in discourse. These principles, combined with action research with children provide a framework to assess where issues in the planning system may lie, and how they could be overcome. This is extended to space by combining it with Foucault's heterotopia (Foucault, 1986), as explored in chapter four.

5.3 Methods

Drawing on a critical, action orientated approach, I conducted a mixture of qualitative methods to assess three main aspects of planning that emerged as important for children's rights in chapters two to four. These are:

1. Children's use and perceptions of place;
2. The process of involving children in planning; and
3. The structures and functioning of the planning system.

I constructed methods that ethically and pragmatically addressed these areas. These consist of:

- A range of participatory exercises with children in a school environment, based on a case study project;
- Semi-structured interviews with adult professionals; and
- Discourse analysis of policy and space connected with the case study, and the wider Scottish context.

I elaborate these in turn.

5.4 The Saughton Park Case Study

This research focuses on the Scottish context of planning, but to understand the intricacies of particular instances of planning and community engagement, the ethnographic action element of this project has revolved around the restoration of Saughton Park (page 9). Case studies are a useful tool, as they allow researchers to understand the intricacies of context, and the nuanced reality of a situation. This adds a new layer of understanding to an issue that is otherwise difficult to achieve (Flyvbjerg, 2006). It has also enabled me to find ways of creating lasting impact for the child participants beyond the research process.

Over the course of the last six years, I have lived in five flats scattered around the immediate vicinity of Saughton Park, and within the catchment area of Balgreen Primary School. The Saughton Park restoration project provided me a serendipitous opportunity to frame my research within a live planning project, and to participate as a member of my own local community to bring a deep contextual insight into the work. I pursued this case study in three ways. I worked directly with two groups of primary school children in their classroom; helped form and have continued to be involved with the 'Friends of Saughton Park' community group; and interviewed two professionals involved intimately with the project. Each of these has been important in gathering evidence of children's use and perceptions of space, and the process of seeking children's meaningful participation.

5.5 Classroom Work

Balgreen Primary School is adjacent to Saughton Park. It has 356 pupils, making it one of the largest primary schools in Edinburgh (School Guide, 2015). In total I worked with 60 children in two classes- Primary 5/6 (a composite class), and Primary 6 (hereafter P5/6 and P6), which in the final session became P6/7 and P7. These children were between the ages of 8 and 11 in the pilot session, and between 9 and 12 over the course of the data collection. The decision to work with these classes was made by the teacher of P6 who had already made links with an officer working on the Saughton Park Restoration, who put us in touch. These links were thus forged pragmatically, but linked appropriately with the middle childhood age group I wished to investigate.

Once I had been introduced by email to the teacher of P6, I arranged a meeting to discuss my intentions in working with their class. At this meeting, I presented the teacher and their colleague, who taught the P5/6 class, with my child's rights framework, and my hope that I could work with the children over the course of a couple of terms, and use this work to feed their views into the formal process of the park restoration. Both teachers were keen to further this involvement and suggested I trial the approach and introduce the topic to the children in May 2014. They allocated me 45 minutes of an afternoon with each class, and I formulated a session inspired by PAS's IMBY™ project (PAS, 2015), in which children draw what they see through their classroom window. We then discussed who uses and affects space, and the role planners have in deciding where land uses go. I used this opportunity to trial a flexible rights-respecting approach by allowing the children to write and/or draw, depending on their preference. This pilot assured me that the children were both interested and capable of understanding the broad terms of what planners and researchers do, and that they would like to be involved with the upcoming changes to Saughton Park.

At the end of the pilot session with the P6 class, the teacher said that they saw no reason why I could not conduct my project with the two classes, and if I sent them an outline, as related to the school curriculum, they would discuss it with the head teacher. I therefore formulated an outline of 10 sessions to conduct within the 45-minute timeslot with each class, focusing on aspects of their local areas and the park restoration, and cross-referenced this with the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2011).

This initial outline (appendix 1) reflected my immediate thinking on the topic and after a meeting and phone call with the class teachers, we arranged the first few sessions and topics to take place in the autumn term of 2014. Initially, I stuck roughly with this plan, but it became clear after several

sessions with the children that the teachers trusted my capability and judgement, and did not require me to justify the alignment of my project with the school curriculum beyond this point. This building of trust helped me to formulate a more flexible programme and to adapt the project as it evolved. In the end, this was advantageous as it allowed me to focus on a rights, rather than educational approach to this research.

5.5.1 Formulating Classroom Methods

Morrow & Richards (1996) commend a mixed methods approach to participatory research with children, as this enables every child to play to their strengths, gathers a range of data, and allows for triangulation. Indeed, it is integral to recognising the heterogeneity of children as it allows them a range of ways to be involved. I was also keen to examine, from a practical perspective, how planners could elicit views of children in developing their plans, and consulting on individual developments. Horelli (1997) suggests a robust framework for action research with children, and due to her comprehensive structure, and the relevance of her position as a planning researcher, I followed her suggestions to conduct:

1. Diagnostic methods to 'evaluate personal, environmental and situational variables' (p.110);
2. Expressive methods to liberate participants from the constraints of their experiences with traditional designs, and encourage them to express themselves in new ways (such as through art, drama, creative writing etc.);
3. Situational methods which structure learning in a way that makes it easier to understand and apply new ideas;
4. Conceptual methods which help re-organise abstract thinking;
5. Organisational methods 'which support the realisation of the results of the project' (p.112); and
6. Political methods, which establish how the research findings will gain visibility and contribute to political will in the planning process.

I did this by basing the data collection on the individual experiences of each child, and allowing the children flexibility when presenting their views. I used a range of different exercises, as inspired by literature review, practical experience and as adapted to the specifics of the situation. By focusing on their local area and the park, the children could relate in some way to what I asked them about, and were generally enthusiastic in communicating their views. The timeline of the park restoration project (Figure 5.1) also built natural stages and goals into the data collection, which helped to provide instances where I could find a forum to communicate what the children had told me to those with influence to act upon it. This served as a political tool to press for children's consideration in the masterplan.

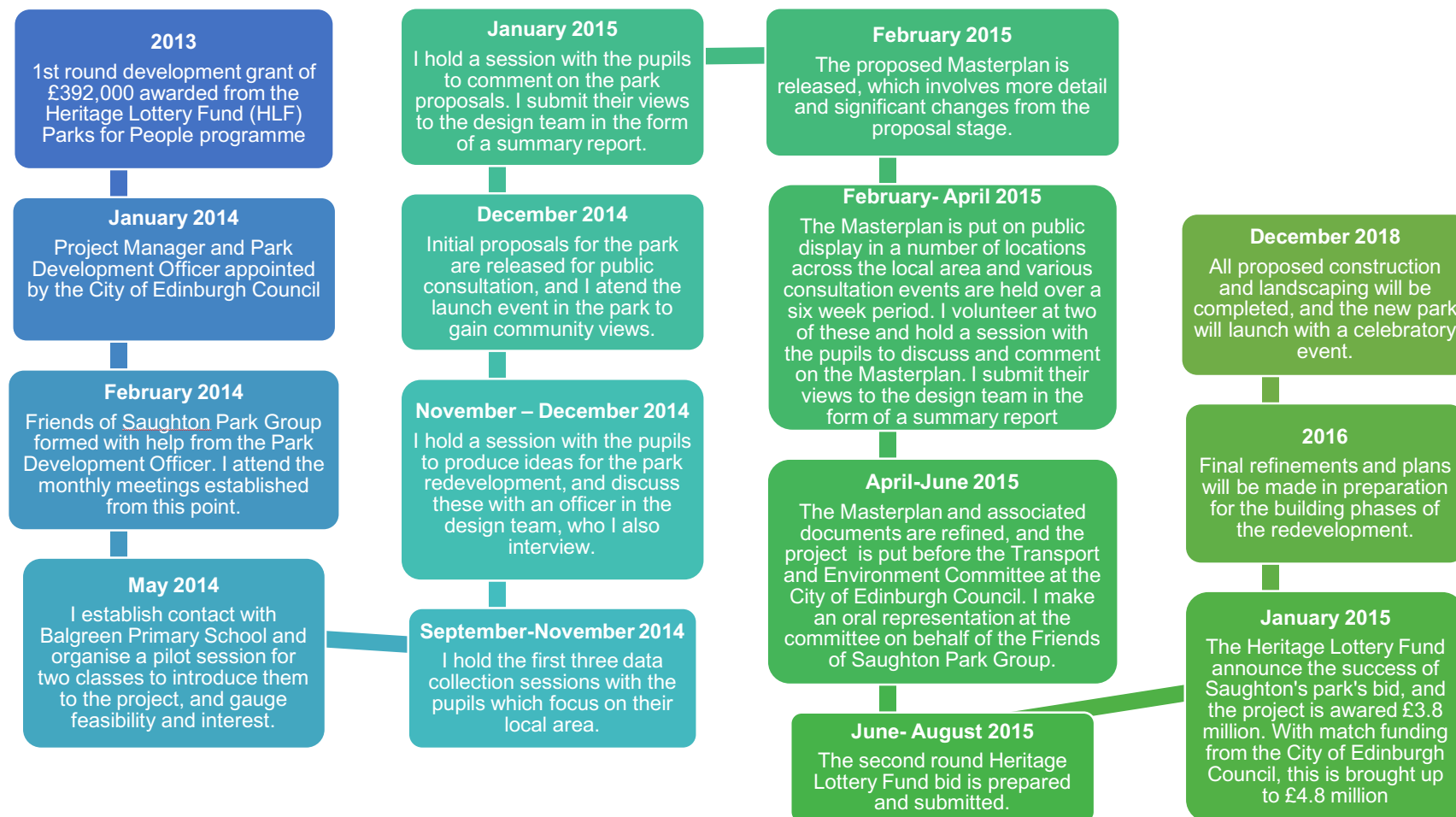


Figure 5.1 Timeline of the Saughton Park restoration process

Table 5.1 shows the aim and data collected in each session at Balgreen Primary School, all of which incorporated semi-structured class discussion and ample opportunities for the children to ask me questions. As in the pilot session, I spent 45 minutes to an hour with each class, beginning firstly with P5/6, before moving through to P6 and repeating. At the end of each day, I collected the outputs the children had created, combined with a research diary and brief notes of our class discussions, and these formed the basis for my analysis. I reflect on the process of working with the children across the nine sessions in the following section.

Table 5.1 The purpose and activity conducted in each session with Balgreen Primary School. Those that directly influenced the Saughton Park restoration process are highlighted green, whilst those I used to better understand the children's use of space are coloured pink. Non-highlighted sessions were not focused on data collection.

Title of Session	Summary	Data Collected
1. Pilot Session (May 2014)	1. Introduction to the idea of planning and the possibility of carrying out research with me.	N/A
2. Introduction to project (September 2014)	1. Talking about what planning is and what it means to do research. 2. Discussing the difference between a right and a responsibility. 3. Group discussions about what they like and dislike in the area and what they would like to focus on in future sessions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes from group and class discussions
3. Your Local Area (October 2014)	1. Finding key locations on an Ordnance Survey map of the local area 2. Annotating own maps with thoughts about the area 3. Discussing as a class what they do and do not like	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes of group and class discussions • Annotated maps with information about distance between home and school, route to school, likes, dislikes, important places, and local knowledge (46).
4. Journey to School (October 2014)	1. Feeding back results of analysis of their maps - a presentation of the main things, they said about what they like and dislike in the area with further class discussion around these themes. 2. Describing their routes to school through writing or drawing and letting me know the mode of transport they take. Some pupils also drew or wrote about their ideal route to school.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes of class discussions • A mixture of drawings, written descriptions and cognitive maps of the pupil's journeys to school (48, 8 of which from P6 were unfinished). • Statistics on the mode of transport used most often to get to school.
5. What do you think of Saughton Park? (November 2014)	1. Feeding back findings about their routes to school - class discussion about types of transport. 2. Discussion around the changes that will be happening to the park and their right to give their input. 3. Completing sheets about what they like, dislike, want to stay the same and want to change about Saughton Park. 4. Writing or drawing about what improvements could be made.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes of class discussion. • Completed sheets with their opinions and suggestions for the park (40).
5. Saughton Park Proposals	1. Feeding back the main themes that came from the sheets they completed in the previous session and what I had done with them - a presentation and further class discussion around these themes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes of class discussion.

(January 2014)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Presentation about the current proposals from the design team for the park. 3. Working in groups to comment about what they think of the proposals and what they would add or change. 4. Working in groups to produce a list of events they would like to see happen in the park. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Completed sheets with their opinions about the proposals (8 groups). • A list of events they would like to see happen (8 groups).
6. Saughton Park Masterplan (March 2015)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Feeding back the results of the previous session with their thoughts on the proposals and what I did with them. 2. Explaining the difference between the proposals I showed them before and the Masterplan that had now been produced. 3. A presentation on the Masterplan and highlighting some of the areas their ideas had impacted. 4. Each pupil got an A3 copy of the Masterplan and annotated it with stickers and post-it notes to explain their views on it. 5. Each pupil received a copy of the presentation I gave them with child-friendly explanations to keep for themselves and show to others. 6. Explaining what happens now with the project and the potential for events they suggested in the previous session. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes of class discussion. • Annotated Masterplans with their thoughts on the new designs (43).
7. Submission of the Heritage Lottery Fund Bid (September 2015)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Showing and explaining any changes that have occurred between the Masterplan consultation and the Masterplan being finalised. 2. Explaining the impact of their participation 3. Discussing the process after this point in terms of Saughton Park and my research. 4. Asking children about independent mobility to address a gap in the data collected so far. 5. Thanking the children once again for their participation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary • Brief notes of class discussion. • More data on where in the local area they can travel unaccompanied by an adult (50).
8. Heritage Lottery Fund Bid Success (January 2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Letting the children know that the project received the funding, and the timeline for development 2. Thanking and congratulating them for their involvement in the project. 	N/A

5.5.2 Gathering Evidence of Children's Use of Space

I used three methods to help understand how children use and perceive space (Sessions 2, 3, and 7 in Table 5.1). These were:

1. Annotating maps of the local area;
2. Describing their routes to school; and
3. Detailing the extent of their independent mobility.

Gathering this type of data is likely to be the primary reason for engaging children in plan preparation. I therefore discuss these methods independently of those that revolved around Saughton Park. I was also informed by class discussions, where the children offered further opinion and experiences. This allowed me to analyse the local area through a child's eyes, as detailed in chapter six.

5.5.2.1 Annotating maps of the local area

The mapping exercise consisted of each child annotating an A3 sized map of the local area. This included the school catchment and immediate surroundings. I developed this method by drawing on those used by planners in the Children's Tracks programme in Norway (Aradi, 2010; Barnetråkk, 2015), and SoftGIS in Finland (Kahila & Kytä, 2009). Though both of these systems now input directly into internet based GIS systems, and therefore allow for quicker analysis of the results, I found that within the scope of this project (where such technology was unavailable), it worked well as a method for gathering their thoughts on paper.

Initially, we looked at the map as a class, and I got pupils to come up to the board and point out where the school, and where Saughton Park is to help them orientate themselves. The first individual task was then to mark on the school and their homes with a star sticker, and draw on the route they take to school. The next part of the session involved the children using a variety of stickers (different coloured hearts, stars, and dots) to mark on the things they thought were important about the area - things they liked, disliked, or just thought it important for me to know. I showed them the key for the Ordnance Survey map they were using, and asked that they draw their own version to explain their markings on the map, leaving the colour and sticker choice to them. This led to the children producing a wide variety of maps, the majority of which were easy to interpret. To aid them in providing specific information, I also handed out post-it

notes they could use to add detail about their decisions and experience. This meant a single map could contain more information without compromising its readability. Figure 5.2 shows two examples of the children's completed maps.



Ang
 ♥ = Things I like
 Red
 Star = My house / School
 Yellow
 O = Things I don't like

I put a heart on the prison because I want to see someone being killed.
 I don't like school because it's not challenging
 I like my house because it's my home
 I put a dot on Carrick Knowe because I hate golf
 I put a dot on Murrayfield because 6.10.14
 I hate rugby and football
 I like Tynecastle School because it will be challenging!!!
 I put a dot on Saughton Park because nothing is my age.

Figure 5.2 Examples of children's maps

None of the pupils who lived in the map area struggled to find their home, and those that did not live in the area were quickly able to identify this and wrote me a note to say where they do live. In all cases, the children knew the area well, and had plenty to mark on and talk about, especially as all but one (who lived only slightly off the map) used to live in the map area, and were enthusiastic about finding their old homes. A handful of pupils, mostly those that were driven, struggled to mark on their route to school, which was interesting in revealing the extent of their local spatial awareness. However, by speaking to either me or their teacher, and describing what they saw on the way, we were able to note the route they usually take.

During the time slot with each class, most of the children finished or were able to note the most important things. This method proved easy and fun for the children to take part in, flexible to their own ways of presenting information, and detailed and interpretable for me to use as research data. In future sessions, the children often remembered making their maps, and at their request, I returned the original maps to the children who wished to keep them.

5.5.2.2 Describing routes to school

In the session following the mapping exercise, I asked the classes to draw or write about their journey to school, explaining I was eager to hear about how they travel, and what they see, smell, and hear on the way. This method was inspired by Cele (2006), who found children's routes to school provided interesting perceptual information about their everyday lives. Indeed, drawing of routes to school and cognitive mapping have been used at length in childhood research, most notably by the urban designer Kevin Lynch in the original Growing Up in Cities Project (Lynch, 1977). Similar to the mapping exercise, I allowed the children to present their journey in whichever way they wished. This meant some wrote detailed descriptions, some created detailed drawings, whilst others provided very basic details in written or drawn form. I also gave participants the option to draw their ideal route to school if they finished the exercise early. Figure 5.3 shows a range of the outputs from this exercise.

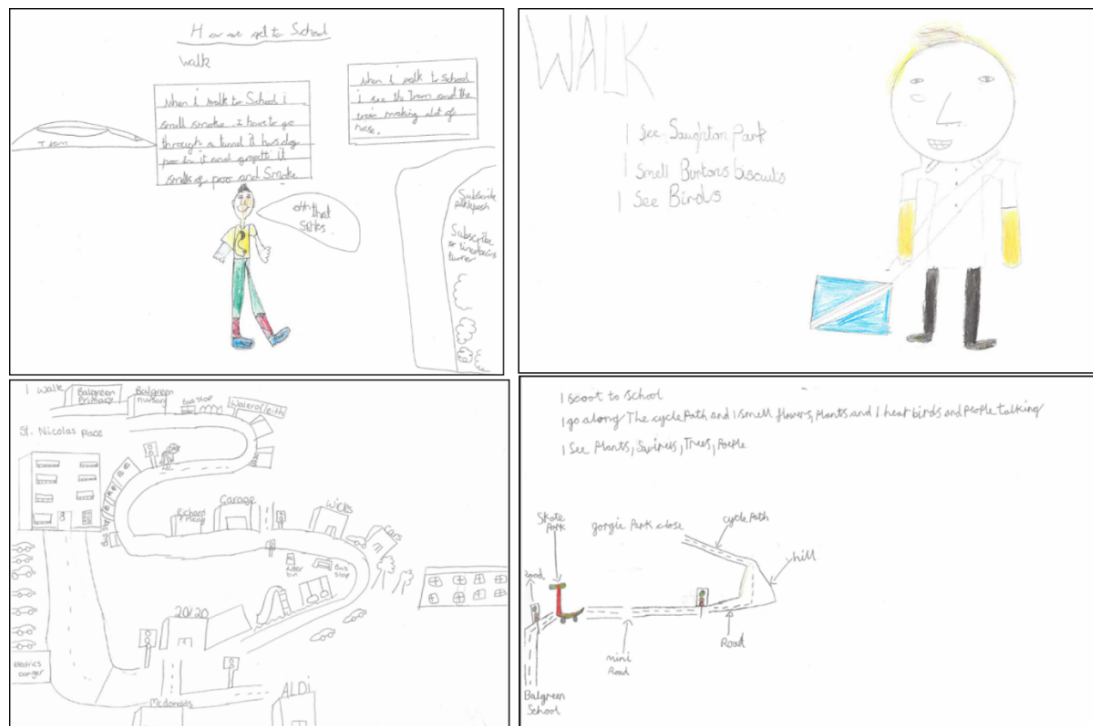


Figure 5.3 A selection of drawings children made to represent their journey to school

Many of the children seemed less engaged by this method than with the maps, particularly those that disliked drawing and so wrote down a very quick description. It was also apparent to me that some children lived so close to the school that they had little to report. Nonetheless, the majority of the pupils engaged well, and some moved on to detail their ideal route. However, eight children only partly completed this exercise as they were removed from the class for another pre-arranged activity. These responses were influential in me understanding the travel modes the children took to school, their experience of it, as well as interesting perceptual themes I explore in chapter six.

5.5.2.3 inter/in- dependent Mobility

My final session with the children explored the extent of their permission to go outside without an adult. Measuring children's independent mobility is more difficult than children's place perceptions. Existing studies use extensive questionnaires and activities with children and adults to assess this element of children's lives in isolation (Hillman et al., 1990; O'Brien et al., 2000; Shaw et al., 2013, 2015; Bates & Stone, 2015). Moreover, the most accurate and increasingly used method is to track children's movements with GPS devices (c.f Loebach & Gilliland, 2016). As neither of these were practical for my sessions with the children, nor would GPS technology likely be available to planning authorities, I took a pragmatic approach that was not based on previous studies. I

presented each child with an A3 sheet (Figure 5.4), and requested they fill this out with information on where they can and cannot go. I emphasised that I did not need to know specific places such as the name of roads, but I was interested in the general range and types of place they could access. Alongside this, I requested they express how they felt about the range of places they could go when by themselves, with friends and with adults.

The figure displays four examples of mobility worksheets, each titled "WHERE ARE YOU ALLOWED TO GO WHEN OUTSIDE?". Each worksheet is divided into three sections: "BY MYSELF", "WITH FRIENDS", and "WITH AN ADULT".

- Top Left Worksheet:**
 - BY MYSELF:** School, Friends, Home.
 - WITH FRIENDS:** Park, Sports, See how happy?
 - WITH AN ADULT:** Play area, side, school, shops, Town, cinema, Big work, happy with them.
- Top Right Worksheet:**
 - BY MYSELF:** To The Park near my Home. I feel happy because I like to go by myself. Summer time I don't like my friends or my dad and my mom to come with me.
 - WITH FRIENDS:** To The Shop of Rose Park. I feel happy because I like to go with my friends. I like to go more places with my friends.
 - WITH AN ADULT:** To The Shopping.
- Bottom Left Worksheet:**
 - BY MYSELF:** Balgownie School, My best friend, Carving, and some carving, at the biggie type.
 - WITH FRIENDS:** Trick or Treat.
 - WITH AN ADULT:** Grandmother, Summer, best, On Holiday, Camp, Restaurants, Carving, and some carving, and some fun.
- Bottom Right Worksheet:**
 - BY MYSELF:** Tessa, Skate Park.
 - WITH FRIENDS:** Skate Park.
 - WITH AN ADULT:** Town, On a car, and some fun.

Figure 5.4 Examples of filled in in/interdependent mobility worksheets

I included a section on the sheet on mobility with adults. This meant I could analyse the places the children go alone in relation to other places they go when accompanied. Thus, if a child reported they never go anywhere with an adult, then there would be little contrast if they also never go out alone. This allowed me to draw on the *interdependent* mobility narrative that previous research argues is more accurate in understanding children's movements (Nansen et al., 2015). Whilst other methods such as SoftGIS or GPS tracking would offer more spatially-specific data, this method gave a wide insight into how and why children see their local area in a particular way. In fact, many children did not grasp why I would ask for their feelings towards their mobility (chapter six), but this in itself provided vital data to triangulate with their mapped place perceptions, and routes to school.

5.5.3 Informing the Saughton Park Restoration Process

To involve children in the restoration process, I used three methods at varying stages of the masterplan process to gauge their opinions (sessions 4,5, and 6 in Table 5.1). These were:

1. Writing or drawing about thoughts and ideas for the park (session 4);
2. Working in groups to assess the design team's initial proposals (session 5); and
3. Annotating the design team's masterplan (session 6).

I tailored these methods to the park project, and so they are most likely to be appropriate to individual projects rather than plan preparation. We also talked at length about the park in class discussions, and with this material, I wrote a summary report for the design team and City of Edinburgh Council at each stage, which gave them details of what the children wished from the park and its future.

5.5.3.1 Initial Consultation

Figure 5.5 shows some filled out versions of the A3 sheet I gave to each pupil to draw and write about their views of Saughton Park. In a similar way to the independent mobility exercise, I formatted this pragmatically to maximise the information I could collect from the children in the limited timeslot. I based this method on SWOT analysis, which allowed the children to give a wide range of views, and many also used the back of the sheet to give more details of their ideas for change. From these outputs, I analysed the different views of children, and compiled my first report to the City Council and design team consultants (appendix 2). I presented this report directly to the design team project manager, and discussed its implications with them. This allowed them to consider the views of the children in their design proposals, which they presented in December 2014.

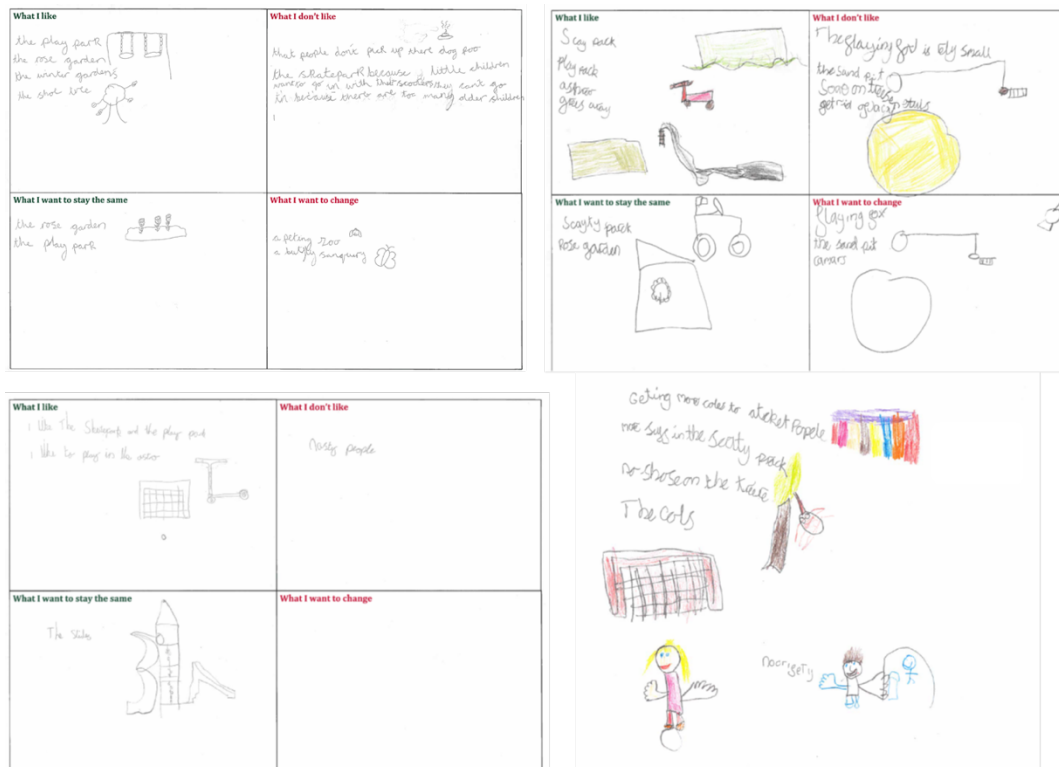


Figure 5.5 Some examples of filled in park sheets. Some children gave further suggestions and illustrations on the back of the paper.

5.5.3.2 Responding to Proposals

I returned to the classes in January 2015 to present to them the initial proposals that had been released in December. I devised two group exercises for them to complete on A2 paper. The first one was to gather their views on the proposals, and the second to gather their views on events that could take place in the park (Figure 5.6). These exercises were based on the methods used for adult consultation at the public event in December 2014, which primarily involved adults writing on boards and post-it notes, or filling out a formal questionnaire. The response of the children to this method was varied, with the group work element making it hard for some groups to reach a consensus. In response, I allowed the children to write individual responses on post-it notes if they wished to. However, the children appeared enthusiastic to report their views. I compiled these outputs into my second report to the City Council and design team (appendix 3), who considered them for the masterplan preparation. I also conveyed the children's ideas for events to the Friends of Saughton Park group (see section 5.6).

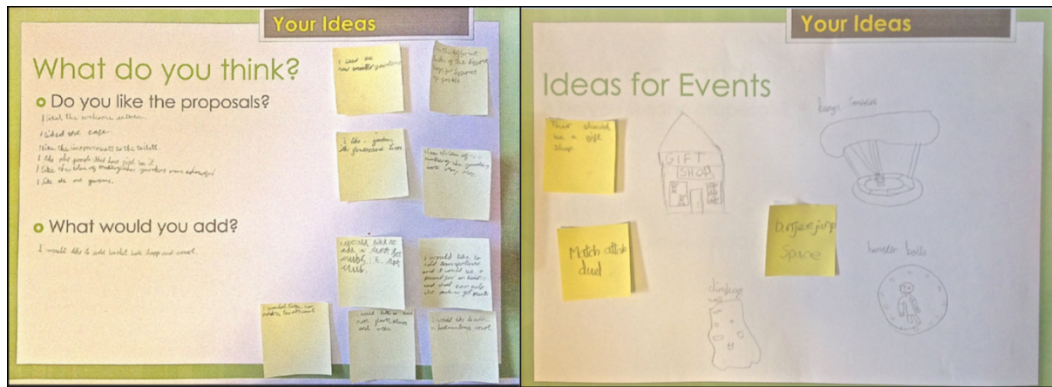


Figure 5.6 Examples of children's views on the park proposals and ideas for events.

5.5.3.3 Responding to the Masterplan

In March 2015 I presented the detailed masterplan to the children, and gave them each a child-friendly guide to keep (appendix 4). I then gave them the task of annotating the masterplan with their likes, dislikes and further comments, in a similar way to the initial mapping exercise inspired by Children's tracks and SoftGIS (Kytä; Aradi, 2010; Barnetråkk, 2015). Figure 5.7 shows some examples of these. The children responded to this task with similar enthusiasm to the first mapping exercise, but the pupils in P5/6 circled the varying aspects of the masterplan as we went through it to help them focus. I used these outputs to write a final summary report for the City Council and design team (appendix 5).

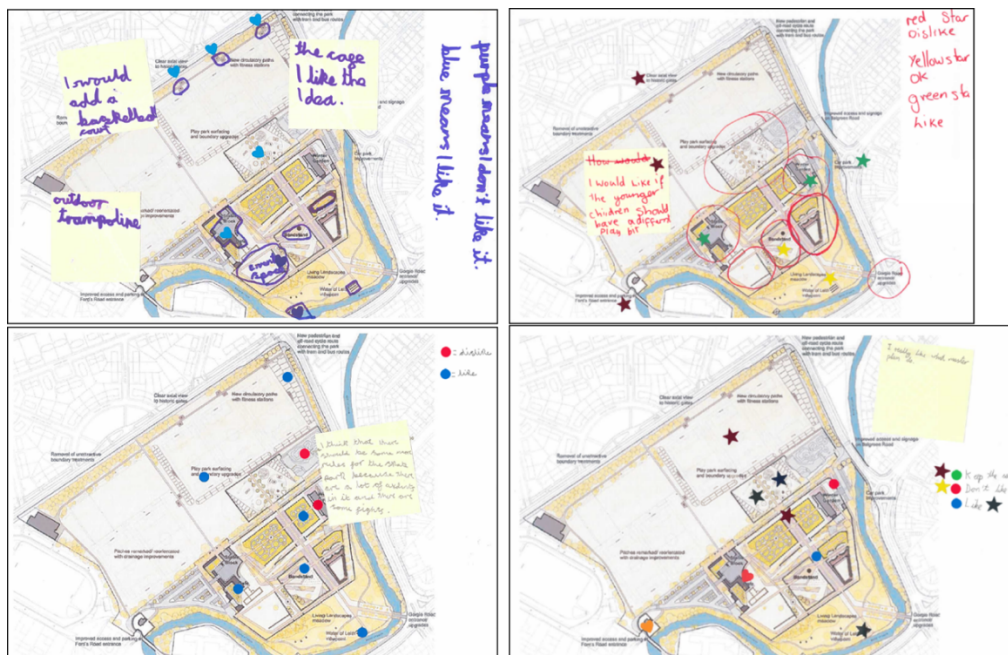


Figure 5.7 A selection of annotated masterplans produced by the children.

5.5.4 Feeding back to participants

I took the opportunity at the beginning of each new session to reflect with the class on what I found out from them, and allow them to elaborate, question or contradict my interpretation, which the more confident children (at least) did not hesitate to do. Finally, the children provided me with their anonymous feedback in the last session on the cards in Figure 5.8. This gave them an opportunity to suggest better or different ways they would have liked the project to go. This also accorded with the need to evaluate my own approach and perspective, by valuing the children's interpretation and experience of the project. Finally, I informed the children of the funding bid outcome in person; allowed them to ask me any further questions; and presented them with a congratulatory card for their participation (Figure 5.9).


<div><div>SAUGHTON PARK PROJECT</div><div></div><div>HOW HAVE YOU FOUND IT?</div></div>	
Did you enjoy being part of the project?	Any ways I could have made it better?

Figure 5.8 Feedback cards given to participants to report their feelings about the project anonymously

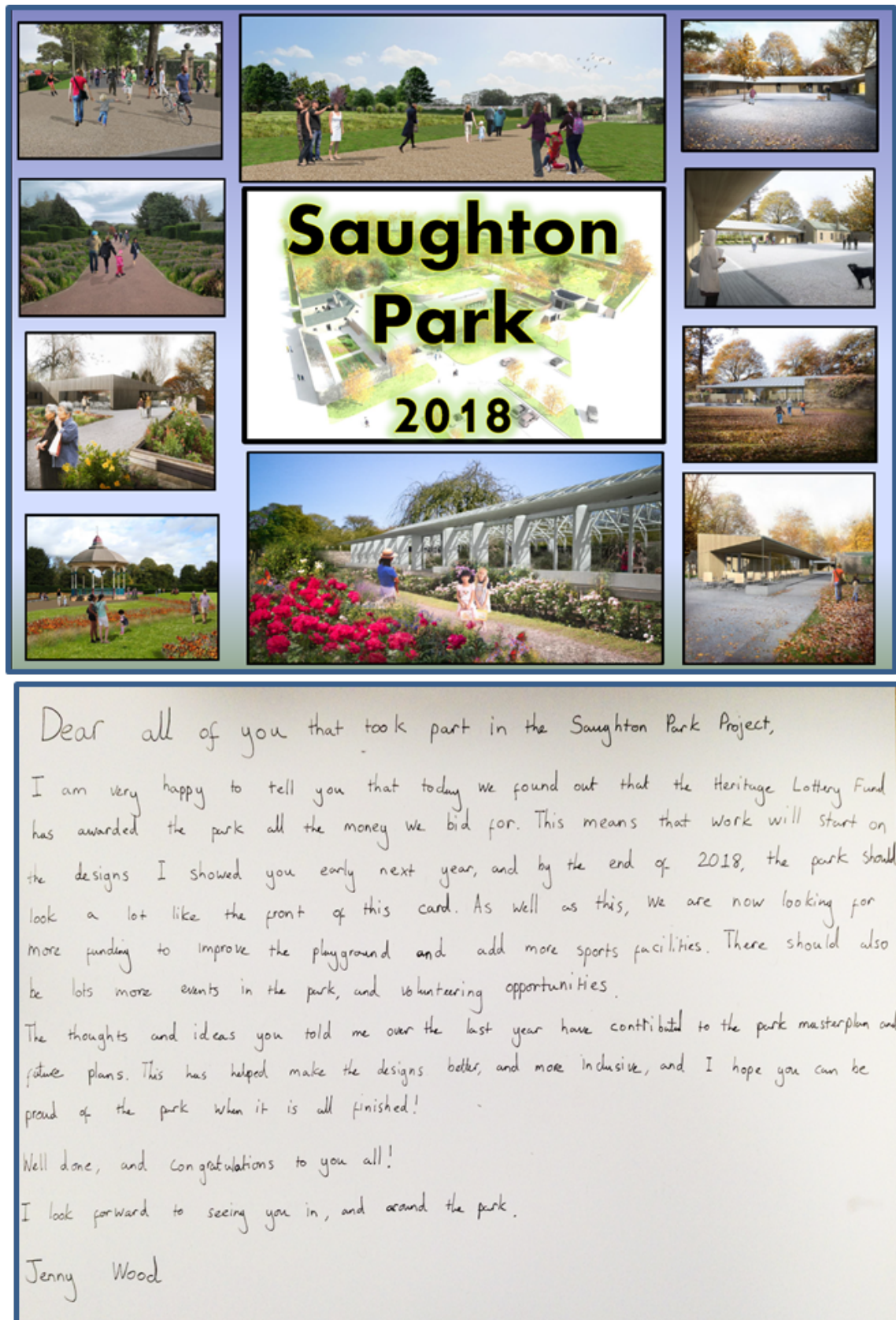


Figure 5.9 Card presented to the children at Balgreen Primary School the day after the Heritage Lottery Fund confirmed Saughton Park would receive funding.

5.6 Attending Friends of Saughton Park meetings

The Friends of Saughton Park group is a community organisation that runs projects and events in the park, and contributes a community view to the restoration project. It was established in February 2014 when an officer (working on the park restoration) from the City Council organised a meeting for community members interested in the park. Since this time, the officer has attended almost every meeting to give an update on the project, and the group have so far run a range of events such as bear hunts for children and a Christmas party. They have also spawned a local history group and a community garden. Alongside the classroom work, throughout the research process I attended these meetings, and subsequently volunteered at three community (adult) consultation events in relation to the developing plans for the park. This helped me to contextualise the children's involvement in the process and stay up to date with the work of varying actors involved in the project. It also gave me frequent opportunities to inform other members of the group of the children's ideas for the park, and for events. I made notes during these meetings about activities and developments taking place, and the general theme of discussions.

The adult consultation events I attended as a volunteer (Table 5.2) gave me time to reflect on the proposals and masterplan for the park restoration, and to speak to different members of the community about them. It also gave me privileged access to the professionals that contributed to the park bid. I collected notes which have helped to position me in a similar place to a planner consulting with adults on a proposal, to see the fuller picture and reflect on the ways that different groups became involved in the process.

Table 5.2 Consultation events attended as a volunteer from the Friends of Saughton Park Group

Stage	Date	Description	Research Output
Initial Proposals	16 th December 2014	An evening event displaying boards detailing initial findings from various studies conducted on the park. It suggested the areas the masterplan could focus on, and requested community feedback on ideas and priorities. Feedback was facilitated through questionnaires, writing on boards, and post-it notes. Officers from the City Council and the design consultants attended.	Photographs of the displays and community comments, as well as notes of themes emerging from the consultation.
Masterplan	19 th March 2015	An evening event that displayed the Masterplan proposals for the park in a local community centre. Feedback was facilitated through a questionnaire. No members of the community attended this event.	Photographs of the displays and experience of attending an unsuccessful community engagement event.

Masterplan	26 th March 2015	A day-time event that displayed the Masterplan proposals for the park in a local community centre. Feedback was facilitated through a questionnaire.	Experience of talking about the masterplan with adults.
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5.7 Understanding the wider Context

Though the Saughton Park case study provides a rich first hand description of a participatory process, as part of my action research approach, I sought to position my understandings in the context of planning in Scotland. To do this, I conducted interviews with professionals, and analysed both planning and child-related policies. This allowed me to understand the structure of the system and the ways different actors respond within it. This built upon research I published (Wood, 2015) which conducted a critical discourse analysis of draft national planning policies, and Planning Advice Note 3 (Scottish Government, 2010a). This research suggested that children are not a particular consideration in planning policy, but by reviewing instigated policy, widening the scope, and exploring real examples of planners involving children in planning through interviews, I extended this critique.

5.7.1 Interviews

Interviews are a common qualitative research method, and provide useful insights into the experiences, knowledge and perceptions of social actors (Bryman, 2012). I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews which ranged in length from 20 to 130 minutes. I chose semi-structured interviews due to the diverse nature of the topic, and a need to guide the conversation, but also to allow space for the participant to explore and expand on their knowledge and experience. I carried out 13 of these in person in a work-related setting, and recorded them on a dictaphone. I conducted and recorded one further interview over skype, and one over the phone (which I was not able to record, but took notes throughout).

I selected each interviewee through a mixture of purposive sampling and practicality, and they span the geographic regions of Wales and Scotland for different purposes. The interviewees can be grouped into three broad categories:

- The Saughton Park Project (two)

- Scottish policy and practice (six); and
- The impact of the Wales Play Sufficiency Duty (seven).

I interviewed two professionals involved in the Saughton Park project to give insight into the process of the project and the intentions they had for community engagement, and for appealing to the 6-12 age group. I also purposively chose interviewees to assess Scottish policy and practice. These began with an officer that co-ordinated community engagement on the City of Edinburgh Local Development Plan (due to Saughton Park being in Edinburgh); and an officer at the Scottish Government, who was involved with the development and running of community engagement events on the most recent iterations of the Scottish Government's third National Planning Framework and Scottish Planning Policy (Scottish Government, 2014a,b). I then sought planning authorities that had received attention for their work with children. The Scottish Awards for Quality in Planning (SAQPs) are the main way the Scottish Government commends good planning work, and from winners and commendations of these prizes, I noted that Aberdeen City Council had won an award for their Youth Engagement Project in 2014. Meanwhile, South Lanarkshire Council had won an award for their 'Cognitive Mapping Project' in 2005. Both planning authorities also appeared in undergraduate planning dissertations for their work with young people (McNally, 2007; Thompson, 2013). Despite a focus from both examples on work with children of secondary school age, examining the available literature I was not able to find concrete examples of planning authorities engaging proactively with younger children. I therefore arranged interviews with an officer at each planning authority, to establish their experiences and opinions.

To convey the alternative view of children's participation, I also pursued the views of two key organisations in Scotland for promoting Articles 12 and 31 of the UNCRC. I arranged interviews with an officer at the Children and Young People's Commissioner for Scotland (CYPCS), which is the statutory, but independent, body that promotes the rights of children. I then interviewed an officer at Play Scotland, the national play organisation. This helped frame children's involvement in planning from a wider perspective, and gave voice to key lobbying organisations, and government partners influential in the field.

Finally, I turned to Wales to investigate a mostly unexplored policy development that could provide a useful alternative frame to evaluate Scottish policy. The Play Sufficiency Duty in Wales is a new obligation implemented as part of the Children and Families (Wales) Measure, which I explored in chapter two (page 37) (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010). This duty is particularly innovative as Wales is the first country in the world to use statutory instruments to address Article 31 of the UNCRC (Russell & Lester, 2013).

The first section of the Play Sufficiency Duty came into effect in November 2012, and required all local authorities in Wales to assess the quantity and quality of play opportunities in their area, by producing a Play Sufficiency Assessment (PSA) and action plan. Due to the wide-ranging agenda of the PSAs, planning departments were required to be involved in the process of data gathering, and for many local authorities this was the first time they had been involved with matters of play. The first round of PSAs and action plans were submitted to, and approved by the Welsh Government in March 2013, and the second section of the duty was commenced in February 2014. This ‘require(s) local authorities to secure, as far as is reasonably practicable, sufficient play opportunities for children in their area and to publish information about play opportunities’ (Russell & Lester, 2014, p. 9). With planning-related actions included in many local authorities’ action plans, the role of planners in helping to secure play opportunities has been acknowledged more explicitly in Wales than in Scotland, and this created an interesting policy intervention to assess.

I conducted seven interviews with professionals involved with the play sufficiency duty, and in analysis, these also provided further information as to the work of playworkers, planners and the working of national and local actors. I chose the interviewees based on a mixture of geographic accessibility and recommendation from an officer who initially agreed to be interviewed at Play Wales. The four local authorities involved are geographically varied from south to north Wales and from urban to rural. I also interviewed Dr Wendy Russell and Dr Stuart Lester at Gloucestershire University, as they wrote two important reports exploring the play sufficiency duty (Russell & Lester, 2013, 2014). Due to their strategic role in accessing information about the duty, both agreed to be named for the purpose of this thesis, yet all other interviewees are anonymised as far as is practical. This is because protecting the identity of my research participants has been of upmost concern, and an important discussion during meetings with my supervisors. This is to treat the input of the professionals with as much respect as possible. I also acknowledge that in protecting the identity and human rights of my child participants, I should do the same, as far as practicable for my adult participants. Table 5.3 summarises the various interviews I conducted throughout Scotland and Wales.

Table 5.3 Interviews carried out in Scotland and in Wales

Scotland		Wales	
Saughton Park Restoration	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An officer at the City of Edinburgh Council 2. A worker at the design consultancy appointed to work on the project. 	Play Sufficiency Duty Development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An officer at Play Wales

Planning Policy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An officer at the Scottish Government 2. An officer at the City of Edinburgh Council 3. An officer at Aberdeen City Council 4. An officer at South Lanarkshire Council 	Play Sufficiency Duty Local Authority Experience	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An officer at Local Authority A 2. An officer at Local Authority B 3. An officer at Local Authority C 4. An officer at Local Authority D (short phone interview)
Children's Right to Participate in Place	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An officer at the Children and Young People's Commissioner for Scotland Office (CYPCS) 2. An officer at Play Scotland 	Authors of Play Sufficiency Duty Research Report	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dr Wendy Russell, Senior Lecturer in Play and Playwork, University of Gloucestershire 2. Dr Stuart Lester, Senior Lecturer - Professional Studies in Children's Play/Play and Playwork, University of Gloucestershire (Skype Interview)

5.7.2 Policy Analysis

To assess policy in relation to practice, I used Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999, p. 53) five steps in conducting critical discourse analysis:

1. defining the research problem;
2. identifying obstacles to be tackled;
3. analysing the problem's function in the practice concerned;
4. exploring possible ways to change or exclude the obstacles; and
5. reflection on the researcher's position towards the problem and the analytical procedure.

The research problem was already defined by Wood (2015), as a neglect of children in planning policy in Scotland, and the obstacles to be tackled were therefore the need to include children's participation rights into planning practice. Literature review then suggested the problem's function was to focus the planning system on achieving economic imperatives, rather than prioritising less tangible social elements of planning. The interview data I collected, coupled with a review of policy, enabled me to assess the final two steps.

The policies I review in this study are set out in Table 5.4. I also attended a conference on the Scottish Government's play strategy (Edinburgh, November 2015), and the Welsh Government's Play Sufficiency Duty (Wrexham, May 2015). The content and relationship between these different

policies and legislation offer insight into whether policy is currently able to promote children's participation rights through the planning system.

Table 5.4 The policies reviewed in chapter eight.

Planning Policies	Child-specific Policies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Third National Planning Framework (NPF3) (Scottish Government, 2014a) • Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) (Scottish Government, 2014b) • Planning Advice Note 3: Community Engagement (PAN3) (Scottish Government, 2010a) • Planning Advice Note 65: Planning and Open Space (PAN63) (Scottish Government, 2008a) • Creating Places- The Scottish Government's Architecture and Design Policy (Scottish Government, 2013c) • Designing Streets- The Scottish Government's Architecture and Design Policy on streets (Scottish Government, 2010b) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play strategy for Scotland- vision (Scottish Government, 2013a), and action plan (Scottish Government, 2013d) • The Early Years Framework (Scottish Government, 2008a) • The Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (Scottish Parliament, 2014)

5.8 Research Ethics

Ethics have been a key consideration in this project. I have considered the tenet of non-exploitation in relation to both my child and adult participants. However, this requirement holds especially true with children, who by their nature are likely to be more impressionable and easier to manipulate than adults. This means that the ethics of research with children are complex, and restrictions have been imposed by national and local government, institutional requirements, and through the discourse and continued academic discussion of those working in the field. This meant that the classroom-based element of this research went through several layers of ethical requirements and in doing so, I have reflected at length on my role in the process. In contrast, for my adult participants I needed only to seek ethical approval from the university. Whilst these assessments are uneven in their focus, my overriding goal was to respect the human rights of all participants, and in the case of children, these rights extend to include the UNCRC.

5.8.1 Formal Approval

To be allowed to work in an environment where there is a likelihood of being left alone with children, it is UK Government policy that an adult must seek Enhanced Disclosure through a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check:

‘The CRB offers organisations a means to check the background of researchers to ensure that they do not have a history that would make them unsuitable for work involving children and vulnerable adults’ (The Economic and Social Research council, 2012, p. 24).

In Scotland, this process is run by CRB Scotland (CRBS), and for each new position where an adult works with children, they must update their disclosure record. To conduct this research, I therefore updated a previously held CRBS check, in which I detailed my reason for involving children in the project, why I could not conduct it without involving children, and why I was an appropriate candidate. This was countersigned by a member of Human Resources at the University, before being sent to the CRBS.

The second step in negotiating access was to apply for ethical approval from the University’s ethics committee (appendix 6). This included adherence to ethical guidelines set out by the Economic and Social Research Council (2012), and key ethical considerations detailed in academic literature, particularly Morrow & Richards (1996), Matthews (1998) and Gallacher & Gallagher (2008). As part of this, I outlined my rights-based action approach to the research, and justified an approach of informing the participant’s parents of the project, but not asking for their permission. This approach respects the rights of the child to choose whether and how to participate in the project, independent of whether their parents feel their participation has value. As none of the methods I conducted asked the children for sensitive data or would use their real names, the literature supported giving the children the ultimate choice of participating or dissenting (Glasgow University, 2014; The Economic and Social Research Council, 2012; Morrow & Richards, 1996; Barnardos, n.d). Additionally, involving children in the consent process can be useful for giving them a sense of control and autonomy over their own privacy and individuality (Weithorn & Scheerer, 1994) which could have personal benefits to them, and benefits to the authenticity of their responses. Furthermore, a rights-based framework values the right for children to participate over the views of adults, provided the researcher keeps the best interests of the child in mind at all times (Morrow & Richards, 1996; Beazley et al., 2009).

In contrast, applying for ethics approval to interview adults was significantly less demanding. The ethics application (see appendix 7) was much shorter and did not require the same level of detail. In

my interviews with adult professionals I took a similarly reflexive role as I did with children, but the power dynamics were different due to age, and because the interviewees had professional knowledge that commanded them a greater social prestige than a child. I also had more chance to listen to them as an individual, and the age differential was skewed in the opposite direction so that I was at least several years younger than my interviewees. In contrast to the children, the university ethics committee did not require me to justify a presumption that the participants could give informed consent. Whilst I cannot be sure that the adult participants fully acknowledged the meaning of consenting to a research interview, I also took steps to consider their ethical involvement. I provided each participant with an information and consent form to sign, including a separate area to consent to the dictaphone recording (see example in appendix 8). I also explained the information form to them beforehand, answered any questions they had for me, and reiterated their right to stop the recording or interview at any point, without giving a reason. I further provided them an outline of my questions; specified the interview would last around an hour (though some interviewees chose to extend this time); and after I had transcribed the interview, sent each participant their transcript to look over and edit if they so wished. Each interviewee was anonymised in terms of name and official job title, and I reveal as little information about their identity when quoting from them as possible, whilst still maintaining the content, context and thread of my argument. The only exceptions are Dr Stuart Lester and Dr Wendy Russell who agreed over email post-interview that their names can appear in this thesis, but that they would like to see any material likely to be published that would include their names.

In addition to considerations of how research is conducted, 'In sensitive research involving vulnerable populations, particularly children, the competence of the researcher to undertake the research should be considered.' (The Economic and Social Research Council, 2012, p. 24). Therefore, to ensure I was adequately trained to carry out the research myself, I completed a training course in February 2014 entitled 'Involving Children and Young People in Research and Consultation' held by the Centre for Research on Families and Relationships at the University of Edinburgh. This course was run by experts in children's rights and participatory research. Coupled with my work with children on PAS's IMBY™ program, which I had been involved with for the previous two years, I felt well-grounded to work with the primary school age group. The final step in gaining institutional approval was to write to the Director of Children and Families at the City of Edinburgh Council (see letter in appendix 9) detailing my intentions and timescale for the project. The City Council approved my request upon consulting with the school and receiving a copy of my CRBS certificate.

5.9 Adult-Child Power Differentials

Due to the overriding concern with power differentials in this research, and in much previous research with children, being reflexive about my relationship and appearance to my child participants is vital. It is important to reflect on who I am, and what I represent to them. Which is then further mediated by the context of my contact with them, and their familiarity with adults in this environment throughout the process. To facilitate this, I reflected on my role in a research diary, and undertook continuous evaluation and reading of literature. Three main elements come out of considering the relationship between adult researcher and child participants:

- the role of personal characteristics of the researcher in relation to children;
- the advantages and limitations of the classroom environment; and
- the methods and language used to communicate.

Table 5.5 outlines the main considerations in terms of personal characteristics for the research. Due to the number of children in each class and their different backgrounds and experiences, I cannot give an ultimate assessment of how I may have affected the process. However, I took measures to reduce my potential dominance over the children and convey the relaxed approach commended for meaningful research with children (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). For instance, I did not discipline them, other than the occasional request that they speak to me one at a time. I was conscious of not raising my voice, except to try and get the attention of the whole class, and spoke as clearly and as respectfully to each child as I could. The role of the teacher in the classroom helped me to maintain this role as friendly listener that hopefully helped the children feel more at ease with my presence. I also dressed casually; encouraged children and teachers to use my first name; and made a conscious effort to kneel or sit in a chair beside pupils when talking to them. I found that in many cases the children spoke to me like a familiar person who they assumed would understand what they said and meant. My professed interest in their lives and opinions may have helped achieve this.

Table 5.5 The effect of personal characteristics on the research process.

Characteristic	Potential to Affect the Research	Personal Reflection
Age	Age is the biggest divide and determining characteristic in how the researcher affects the process (Morrow & Richards, 1996), and particularly the societal divide between adult and child.	As a young woman, the age gap in the most extreme case was 14 years. This is significant when the children themselves were aged below 14, but in relation to many of the staff at their school, and their parents/guardians they may have perceived me as closer in age to them. Related to this, they may also have been influenced by an awareness that I am a university student, and therefore in education as they are. However, my adult status undeniably distinguished me from the children more than any

		other characteristic. I cannot be sure if the children saw me as different to other adults in the school.
Gender	Gender relations can affect how participants view a researcher. Children are more likely to encounter female adults outside their family, particularly in a school environment.	I may have been able to empathise more readily with the girls in the classroom, but I cannot assume that I understood them better, or was viewed differently by them from the boys. This is especially important to note as the two classes had an unrepresentative gender divide, which varied at different points in the process, but on average meant there were two boys for every one girl. Another important consideration is that all of the teachers in the school were women, and therefore the children will have been used to women leading activities.
Ethnicity and Culture	Race relations can affect how participants view a researcher, and vice versa. The culture a child is raised in may affect their style of communication and relationship to the world.	Being white and British means that I represented the majority of people the children likely encounter in their everyday lives. However, the case study area has a proportionally larger non-white population than the rest of the city (9.8% to 8.3%), and a relatively high eastern European population. With this, the largest non-white group is 'Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British' at 6.7% (City of Edinburgh Council & Jura Consultants, 2015, p. 25), and the mix of children in the two classes perhaps reflected this diversity more strongly than the overall population. I cannot be aware whether my ethnicity had a significant impact on the process, but one of the children I worked with on the final exercise had limited English language skills, and therefore struggled to understand what I was asking the class to do. In this instance, other children who knew the situation were better-equipped to help than I was, and therefore took on the role of explaining the exercise to them.

Another issue I was acutely aware of was the language I used in communicating with the children. For planning-related ideas, I did not use jargon, and found accessible and relevant ways to explain what I meant. This included referring particularly to games I knew many of the children were aware of (such as Minecraft, SimCity or Monopoly), or finding local examples to illustrate a point, such as referring to particular roads I knew would be familiar, or finding an example out of the classroom window. I also took the time to explain independently to children that did not understand particular issues. Throughout the process however, there was little need for jargon or complex terms, as I was interested in their everyday experiences, on their terms. Overall, this was not too difficult, and as Alderson and Goodey (1996) state, it is only more complicated to speak to children if we assume them to be remote from ourselves, and overplay our differences.

One aspect of myself that created an important advantage in my communication was my in-depth local knowledge (Cele, 2006). Having lived across the catchment area for several years, I was able to quickly pinpoint where on the map certain roads, streets or landmarks were when the children requested my help, and I could quickly put into context their stories and observations. Indeed, when

a pupil would ask if I knew more specific details about a certain place, I was often in the position to help out, or to ask further questions to determine what they did or did not mean. This is something I feel is important in facilitating people's involvement in a planning project, but also in helping the children feel more comfortable around me, as we had some degree of shared experience. Had I worked in another area, I believe this important and helpful element of the study would be diluted, as I would have to artificially come to know the area in a short period of time.

5.9.1 The Classroom Environment

Despite the efforts I took to reduce my potential dominance in the research, in a classroom environment, it is unavoidable that I will have been viewed as a teacher-like figure (Cele, 2005; Orellana, 2008; Gallagher, 2008; Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008; Gallagher et al., 2010). This likely affected how the children approached different exercises with me, as despite ensuring to remind the children of the purposes of my research, they may still have felt there was a right or wrong answer. Thus, I recognised the children may tell me what they thought I wanted to hear (Hills et al 1996; Mahon et al 1996). This is an unfortunate element of conducting research in a school, but practising planners would likely face the same dilemma, which makes it especially useful to reflect upon.

Researching in the classroom meant embracing that elements of the process were outwith my control. In particular, the makeup of the classes (due to changing schools and individual absences) was always subject to change, and only 33 of the 60 children who took part across the project completed all of the exercises. The other issue is that the children's time was not under their control, and particularly during the exercise where children drew their routes to school, eight children got called out for another school duty and never finished their work. There were also two instances where the school made last minute requests to me to change my timings, or to work with a class on a different day. This issue of time is complicated on a wider scale, with the problem that the children may not be fully aware or tolerant of the time scales of a planning and development project. I reiterated the time scales of the Saughton Park restoration at many points, and reflected often with the children about the age they would be when everything was complete. Though they appeared to understand this with some maturity, I cannot be fully aware of whether, and how well, each child grasped this concept and how accepting of it they were.

Linked with the restrictions of the classroom environment and time, I was unable to pursue certain methods of research with the children. Especially restrictive was the difficulty in arranging to take

the children outside, so that we could visit Saughton Park. To do this would require significant notice, an appropriate adult to child ratio, and permission from each child's parent to leave the school. Indeed, the time and space I had to carry out the project precluded me from using any photographic or computer-based technology with the participants. In one sense, these limitations may have reduced the sophistication of my data and the ways the children could communicate. In particular, walking interviews and photography can be effective in understanding children's relationship to place (Cele, 2006; Cele, 2005). Nevertheless, using only classroom based, paper methods helps illustrate what can and cannot be done by planners on limited time and resources.

5.9.2 Informed Consent

Informed consent is arguably difficult for children to give, without a researcher having a thorough understanding of each child's capacity to comprehend the implications of academic research. Indeed, in a classroom setting, where children are used to lessons and tasks being compulsory, and where there was no alternative activity for them to engage in, there were environmental and social pressures to take part. Therefore, ethics committees and researchers suggest taking an approach of at least allowing children the opportunity for informed dissent (Morrow & Richards, 1996). I approached this by providing each participant with an age-appropriate written briefing of the project (appendix 10) (Noret, n.d). As part of this, ethical codes emphasise how language should be very carefully used so as not to subtly coerce or pressure children into taking part (Morrow & Richards, 1996). This meant letting them know that no matter whether they wanted me to collect data from them, they could still take part in all of the sessions. Ultimately, though I did reiterate this when collecting the work of the children, no one expressed a wish to keep their work to themselves. I cannot be sure if this truly implied a wish to be involved, especially in the final session where the classes had been reorganised, and not all of the children had been involved with the other sessions of the project. This reiterates the difficulties of working with vulnerable groups. However, a lack of clarity should not be a justification to exclude children from research. It should reinforce the need for researchers to remain reflexive and keep in mind the overriding principle of the UNCRC - to act in the best interests of the child.

5.9.3 Analysis and Dissemination

The varying ethical dilemmas and power differentials will have affected the quality of my data collection, but many of these issues are inevitable in gaining appropriate access to children, and personal characteristics such as age cannot be overcome. I hope that in reflecting on these issues and acknowledging what was in and out of my control, I have constructed an honest interpretation of my research approach and what the children communicated to me. In fact, Mayall (1994) and Gallagher (2004) argue that the biggest power differential in research is not the process, but is in the analysis and interpretation of the data, and I thus recognise that the children should be respected in the writing of this thesis. I have anonymised each child participant by giving them a pseudonym. I also attempt to balance the common views of the children with the points of difference in their perceptions and ideas. Especially important here is recognising that gender, age, ability and ethnicity may have affected what the children told me about their lives, but I must acknowledge that due to the small sample size and uneven gender distribution, I have not been able to capture this fully. As Gallagher (2004) reflects in his thesis, the presentation of data is inherently a political act, and my interpretation of the findings are one viewpoint that is entangled in my own view of the world and personal background.

5.10 Impact on the field

I must acknowledge that during the course of the process, I was not a neutral actor. Of particular importance is that I had previously met my interviewees at Aberdeen City Council, who invited me to attend one of their youth engagement sessions after I sent them a survey about children's participation in planning for my MRes dissertation. I took up this offer, and witnessed two planners lead a session in a high school. This means I had privileged insight into how they conducted the programme that helped orientate me to investigate this further when it came to interviewing planning authorities with experience of working with younger age groups. In contrast, I discounted another potential project that won an SAQP for working with young people that has been lauded by the Scottish Government. This was due to first-hand experience of the project through the organisation PAS, which suggested to me that it was not a good example of meaningful involvement for people below the age of 18. This forms part of my analysis in chapter eight (see page 212).

Drawing further on my previous and ongoing work with the charity PAS (as an intern and volunteer), I was aware that from an outside perspective it would make sense to interview someone

working for the charity. However, in the end this did not appear useful as their volunteer model means that, in actuality, I had more experience leading the IMBY™ program for primary school children than any staff member. This relationship with PAS also meant that during the course of my PhD, I was hired as a fixed-contract associate to develop and lead engagement with children and young people for two CharrettePlus projects (explained in chapter seven) in Dunblane and Motherwell. This means I both influenced the way they were conducted, drawing on some of my previous experience working with Balgreen Primary School, but also that I have privileged, bias knowledge of PAS's most recent work with this age group. This places me in a furtive position, as I remain both critical and sympathetic to the organisation, and have not used these projects to directly gather data, but have incidental insight not available from independent sources. I did not set out with the intention of writing about these experiences, but as the writing process evolved, PAS emerged as an important actor in the field. I thus made the decision to include these reflections, with the belief that excluding them would conceal important information. I do not however reveal the names of schools, participants, or show any of the outputs of the projects.

A further note on my involvement with PAS is that I helped them organise a conference in October 2012 around the participation of children and young people in planning. This included liaising with guests from Norway, who gave a talk about the Children's Tracks project, and demonstrating the methods of PAS's IMBY™ programme to participants. Whilst conducting interviews at the City of Edinburgh Council and Aberdeen City Council, it became clear that both interviewees had attended this conference. Indeed, I also ran several training sessions on conducting the IMBY™ programme at the beginning of 2015, one of which was attended by the interviewee at Aberdeen City Council.

Another element of my impact on the field has been due to community engagement work arising from my research, which means two of my interviewees were aware whom I was without my having met them. This eased the process of gaining interviewees, but also meant that at times they were aware of the topic I asked them about because they had heard me speak about it. This is a result of a video of me performing planning-related stand-up comedy which has proven popular amongst planners, but also due to a research seminar I gave at the City of Edinburgh Council in September 2013; a presentation at a Cross Party Group on Architecture and the Built Environment at the Scottish Parliament in February 2014; and a community engagement event I held at Edinburgh's Fringe Festival in 2014. This had a positive effect in some ways, as the interviewee from the Scottish Government reflected in interview how it had made them think about some of the policies they had been involved in formulating. However, it could have hampered the more organic flow of dialogue around the topic that may have brought different insights had the interviewees not already known about my research.

5.11 Data Analysis and Presentation

The outputs of the methods explained above were fourfold:

- Various visual outputs from the children at Balgreen Primary School (237 in total);
- A research diary;
- Interview transcripts (14) and notes (1); and
- Annotated policy documents and notes.

All of the children's work was scanned into a computer, and this, along with all transcripts and diary entries were entered into NVivo 10 for sorting. Using such software for qualitative data analysis is now common practice in social research, but it is important to understand the limitations and implicit assumptions it holds (Dey, 1993; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Bryman, 2012). In the case of the children's outputs, I used the software predominantly to create a database of their work; a case folder for each child; and to broadly categorise different worksheets into themes for easy retrieval. Similarly, I stored diary entries in the same file, to refer to as required. For the interview transcripts, I created a separate NVivo file and used inbuilt coding capabilities to begin analysing the data. Meanwhile, I conducted policy analysis predominantly through the process of reading, note taking, and writing.

I analysed the children's outputs through a mixture of the visual database contained in NVivo 10; textual transcriptions I organised in Evernote; and maps I created in a Geographic Information System in the program ArcGIS. On the maps, I was able to pinpoint the location of each child's homes from their first mapping exercise, and then plotted their route to school, noted the distance, and colour-coded it by mode of travel. I was further able to add the children's views from the masterplan exercise to this, and use the GIS interface, and outside data available, for spatial analysis of the case study area. This analysis is combined with a theoretical basis in chapter six.

I began interpretation of the interview data through transcription itself. I wrote notes as insights occurred to me, and at the end of the process of transcribing, I wrote a list of emerging and common themes. This helped me consider how to code the data in NVivo, and I used an abductive approach of data analysis, borrowing from grounded theory to interpret the themes that emerged from the data, and the concepts, themes and theories that aligned with or contradicted findings in my literature reviews (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Reichertz, 2010). This led to a range of themes that I split between children's participation in place; children's participation in process; and the social and political issues that help to exclude children from planning. From this, I re-sorted and re-conceptualised the codes. I used these to begin the writing process, and also found as I became immersed in the data and acutely aware of the narrative and topic of each interview, I could again

manually sort through the transcripts as themes occurred to me. This helped me frame the content once again in the context of the interviewee's narrative and way of expression, and followed Coffey & Atkinson's (1996) suggestion to think with, but not remain anchored to the data. This analysis appears throughout the four findings chapters.

Policy analysis was conducted through following Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999, p. 53) principles, set out in the proceeding section. I made extensive notes whilst reading through policy documents, and analysed these in relation to the topic of study, and to each other. When combined with insights from interviews and the children's work, I pieced together a narrative through the process of drafting and re-drafting to better understand the relationships between different actors in the process, and content and interpretation of policy. This is present in all four findings chapters, but I focus on these links in chapter eight.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter has described the underpinnings of this research by discussing the philosophical background and the individual methods I have used to produce the remainder of this thesis. By taking an interpretivist epistemological stance, I frame knowledge as constructed by the views and experiences of social actors, and through critical realist ontology, I acknowledge the structured and structuring nature of social action and space. By addressing the topic through a participatory ethnographic action research project, I prioritise a child's right to participate, and contribute real-world change. Indeed, the critical, Foucauldian stance I take with this enhances the critical reflection already inherent in this type of research.

The methods I have used span both traditional qualitative methods such as interviews, and more specialist approaches encompassed in my classroom research with children. By tying these to a live case study, I orientate this towards achieving outcomes for my child participants, as well as building an in-depth understanding of how different methods could work in planning practice. Policy analysis helps tie these threads together, to make suggestions for the future of the field that would focus on both process and outcome for the children involved. I have set out how I analyse and present this data through a mixture of approaches that vary across the data set, and where this data will be presented in the following chapters. I now turn towards presenting and analysing the findings of this thesis in the following four chapters on children and place, children and process, children and policy, and progress in children's participation.

Chapter Six: Children and Place

The way children perceive and use space can be at odds with adult assumptions and opinions. When exploring the insights children's geographies and environmental psychology has gathered on children (chapter two), it becomes clear that knowledge and understanding is developing in academic fields, but is mostly unknown to planners (Lauwers & Vanderstede, 2005; Cele & van der Burgt, 2013). With this, the way planners conceive of space in their formal plans and practice can conflict with a child's right to participate in everyday life (Article 31). This is partially a consequence of the lack of evidence planners collect in relation to children, and the lack of regular contact many adults have with them.

This chapter focuses on how children see and use place in the Edinburgh case study. Beginning by assessing data gathered with children aged 9 to 12 at Balgreen Primary School, it focuses on their perceptions of the local area; how they move around; who they travel with; and their ideas for improving Saughton Park. I then analyse this in relation to the structure of the local environment and the problems planners can have in planning for children. Combining this with Foucault's governmentality, and heterotopia (Foucault, 1986, 1991), I finish by considering what children should expect from a planning system that values their right to participate in place, and the extent to which this is already compatible with current understandings in planning practice.

6.1 The space and place of children

Chapter four introduced Foucault's (1986) heterotopia (page 76), explaining how it can extend the governance of children's lives from the frame of governmentality, into an understanding of how children interact with space. Children can be considered heterotopians, who seek out disorder, and play in all and every space, unlike adults who tend to prefer logic and order. This corresponds with Russell & Lester's (2013) theory that children do not 'play' in a discrete, definable way, but wayfare through space:

'it's interwoven. It's not something that just happens in only a designated space at a designated time.'

Wendy Russell (interview)

This was clear from the primary school children's work, with their maps rarely using the language of 'play' to describe their experiences. Indeed, specific reference to play came mostly when children talked of the changes they would like to see in Saughton Park, particularly their thoughts and feelings towards the playground. Instead, elements of their play preferences and patterns became clear through the wider narratives contained in their work.

Figure 6.1 shows the Edinburgh case study area which covers 14km² and includes 93% of the homes of the children who took part in the mapping exercise (see chapter five). This mostly residential area includes a wide range of land uses, most notably a zoo, rugby and football stadiums, a prison, a golf course, and Saughton Park. It also contains a range of architectural styles and building types, built across a range of periods. For instance, traditional Scottish tenements make up much of the housing stock in the Gorgie and Slateford areas, but 1930s council homes make up a significant portion of the homes further west, with larger houses in the Balgreen, Saughtonhall and Costorphine neighbourhoods. However, my broad stylistic view of the area as an adult planner, is likely to be different to those of children who live and grow up in this locality.

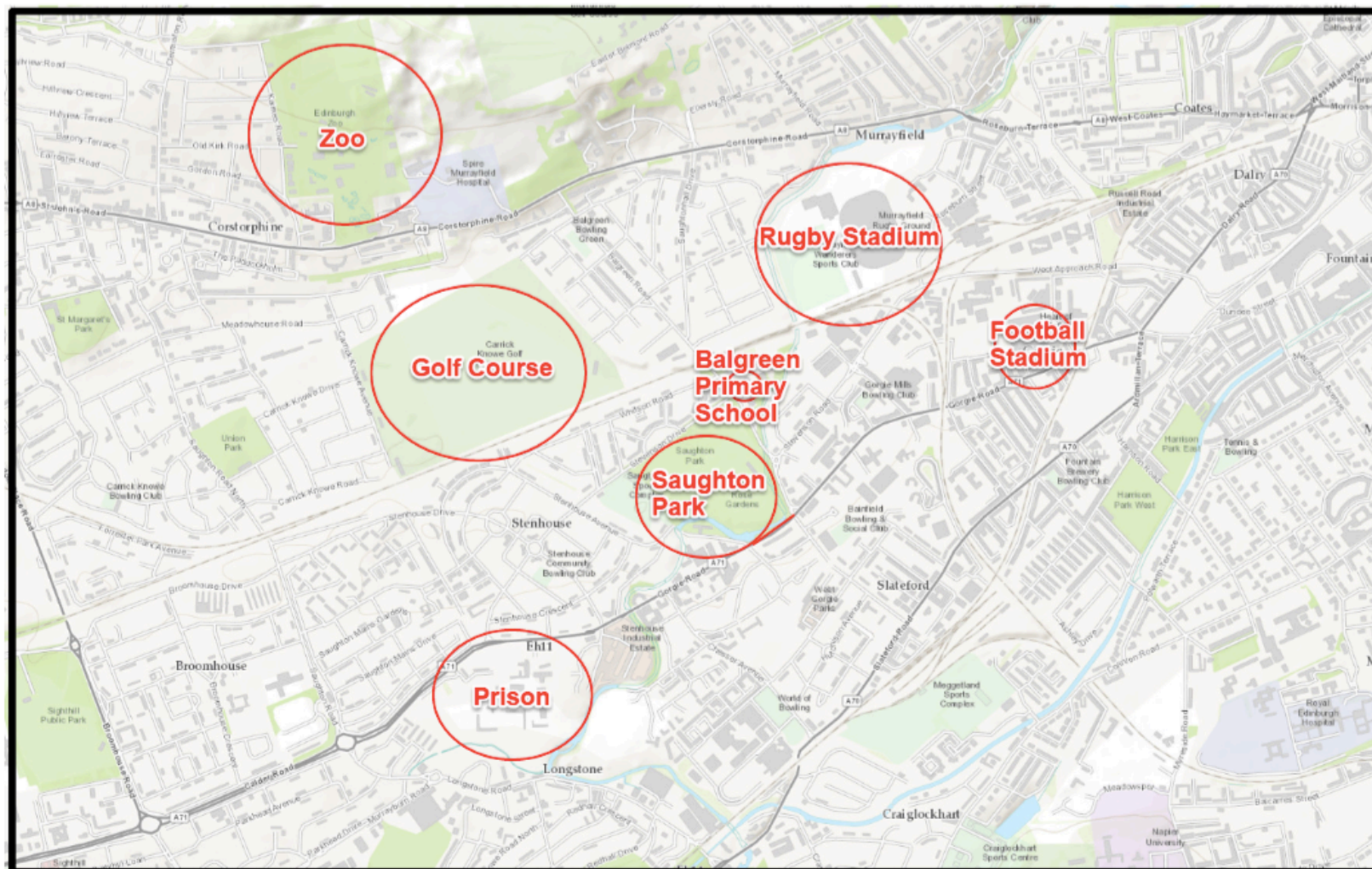


Figure 6.1 Case study area, centred on Balgreen Primary School, and including 93% of the children's homes. The labels point out major landmarks.

6.2 An experiential view of place

Previous studies report that children's place perceptions are largely experiential (Hart, 1979; Elsley, 2004; Cele, 2005; Hartshorne, 2015), and the maps and drawings the children at Balgreen Primary School produced confirm this. They show that children forge close relationships between place and feeling, which can contrast with an adult's potentially more 'objective' view of space. For instance, hospitals were a common thing for the children to mark on their maps, but this was usually linked to themselves, a family member or a friend having been there (Figure 6.2). Consequently, the children decided they were liked or disliked places depending on the quality of their experience, with the actual location unimportant to the child's narrative. This also meant that some children fixated on particular themes (such as where their parents work, or the secondary schools they may go to), where they presented a lot of information, but said little about anything else.

♥ - places that have helped my mum

The eye
hospital looked
after my
mum

Orla, P6

- Placed heart symbols on 'places that have helped my mum'
- 'The eye hospital looked after my mum'

I don't like
the hospital because
my dd and mum
had to go there
because they had a disease

Ahmad, P5/6

- 'I don't like the hospital because my dad and mum had to go there because they had a disease [sic]'

I like going to the ★
Doctors because I don't ♥
feel sick any more ★

Reem, P5/6

- 'I like going to the Doctors because I don't feel sick any more'

there → Purple ♥; Sil Kids my friends have been

Jessica, P5/6

- Placed a purple heart on the hospital to indicate she liked it because 'Sil kids [Sick Kids Hospital] my friends have been there' (Sick Kids is Edinburgh's children's hospital, outside the case study area)

Figure 6.2 Children's differing experiences of medical settings

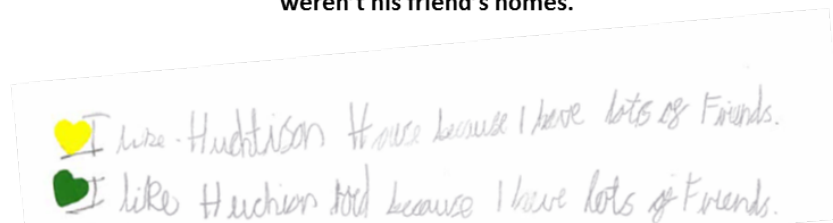
Due to the experiences they represented, the homes of friends and family were particularly important to many children, and Figure 6.3 shows a selection of examples that focus on the children's social space attachments. Indeed, along with the importance of the homes, also came the streets they would travel between, as well as parks and green spaces they go to with friends. Importantly, for six children, the homes of friends and family were the only things they marked on their map, suggesting that social connections are the first thing they associate with the area. This level of social attachment and belonging is also clear with children who had recently moved home, with five children basing much of their map on where they *used* to live. For example, Hassan in P5/6 noted his old home as 'something precious', and lamented throughout the exercises he completed that he now lives far away from many of his friends.



Daniel, P5/6 marked only a few things on the map that weren't his friend's homes.



Molly in P5/6 marked on lots of her friend's homes and routes she would take to get there.



Matthew in P5/6 likes a particular area because he has lots of friends there.
His comments read:

- 'I like Huchison [sic] House because I have lots of friends.'
- 'I like Huchison [sic] road because I have lots of friends.'

Number of mentions on children's maps		
Home of friend/s	Homes of family member/s	Homes of childminder
11/46	7/46	2/46

Figure 6.3 the homes of friends and families and how they move between them was very important for many children

Linking with their social experiences, leisure activities were unsurprisingly very important to the children too, and they frequently liked, disliked or marked places as important on their map because they were associated with an activity the child felt strongly about. For example, Figure 6.4 shows how Bradley likes school because of his teacher, Leo likes Murrayfield Stadium because he saw a fantastic rugby game, but Ruby likes the same stadium because a band she likes played a concert there. Most of the children's maps contained similar themes, especially when an area is associated with a specific activity such as golf or football. This led the children to make a judgment of the place based on whether they liked that activity, which made the range of spaces they liked and disliked highly variable between children.

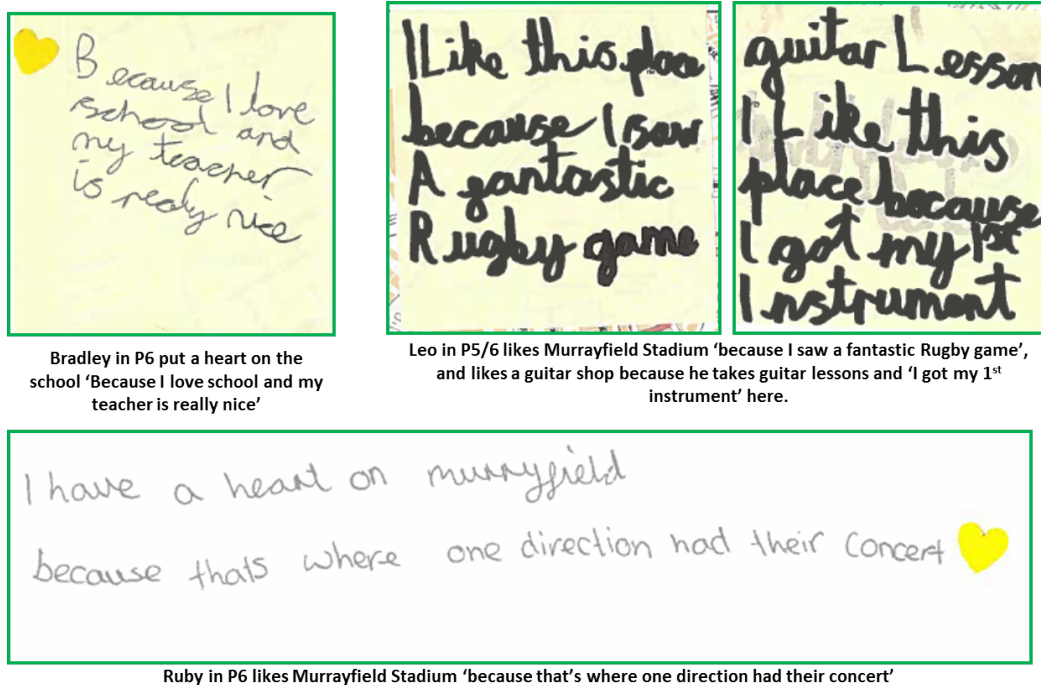
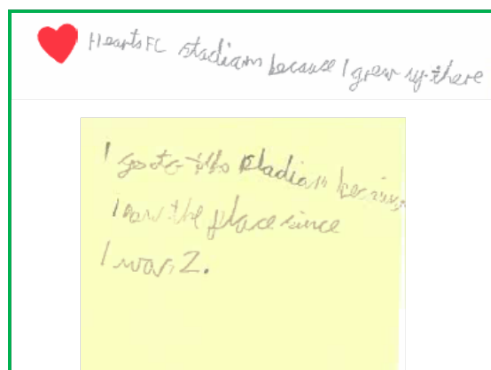
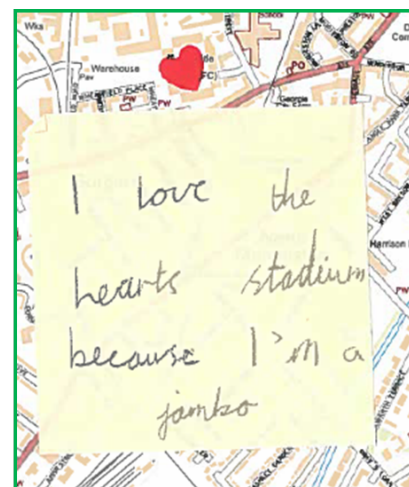


Figure 6.4 Examples of children who like places based on particular experiences.

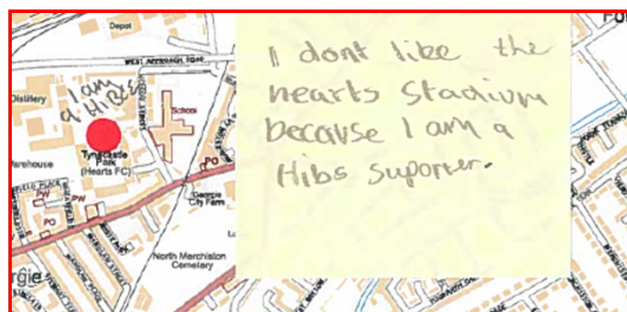
Football was an especially important element of many children's sense of belonging to the local area, and which football team they supported divided many of them (Figure 6.5). This is evident as 30/46 children put their opinion of Tynecastle stadium on the map. Indeed, some marked their liking of the Hibernian stadium (at the other end of the city) as liked or disliked on their map to emphasise their allegiance. Moreover, in a feedback session with the children, I talked about some of the things I noticed from their maps, and when I suggested they were quite divided on which football team they support, a number of P5/6 pupils felt it important I know that their class agreed that Hearts F.C (Tynecastle Stadium) was the better team. Indeed, they stated it was only in P6 where some people supported Hibernian, and this further emphasises that whilst it may have separated the two classes, it provided a sense of community within each, and was an important mark of identity for many children.



Alfie in P6 likes Hearts stadium 'because I grew up there' and 'I go to the stadium because I now the place since I was 2.'



Daniel in P5/6 writes 'I love the hearts stadium because I'm a jambo [Heart F.C supporter]'



Kyle in P6 writes 'I don't like the hearts stadium because I am a Hibs Supporter.'



Ethan in P6 writes 'I don't like it because I am a hibs fan and I hate hearts.'

Figure 6.5 Differing views on Tynecastle Stadium, based on the children's football team preference

The experiential view of place is particularly notable when Figure 6.6 is taken to account. Whilst individual children had strong opinions about particular things, there was a high level of agreement about the most liked and disliked places across the classes, especially within groups of friends. The main divisions between children were whether or not they liked places linked with very specific activities such as the golf course, and Murrayfield and Tynecastle stadiums. However, there are notable places that appear only as liked places, such as the local cinema, the zoo, the Water of Leith, and both Saughton and Meggetland sports complexes. This is explained to some extent by the fact the children noted more positive than negative places/meanings in their maps. This may be different to how adults would complete the exercise, with a tendency for planners to believe members of the public will focus on problems in their local areas, rather than opportunities and solutions.

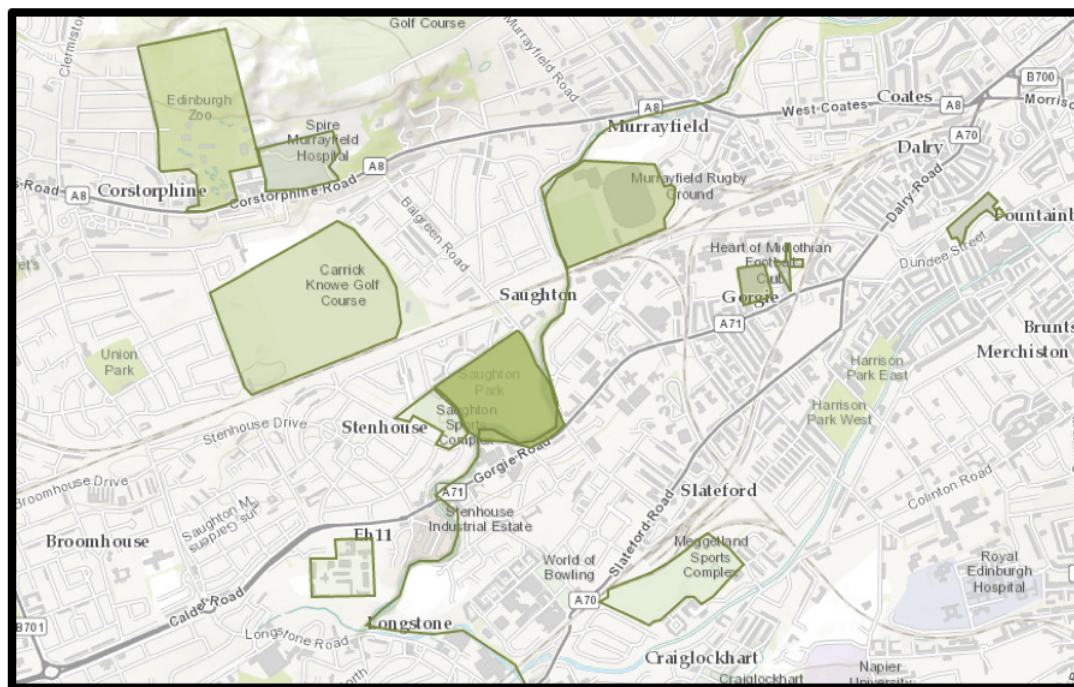
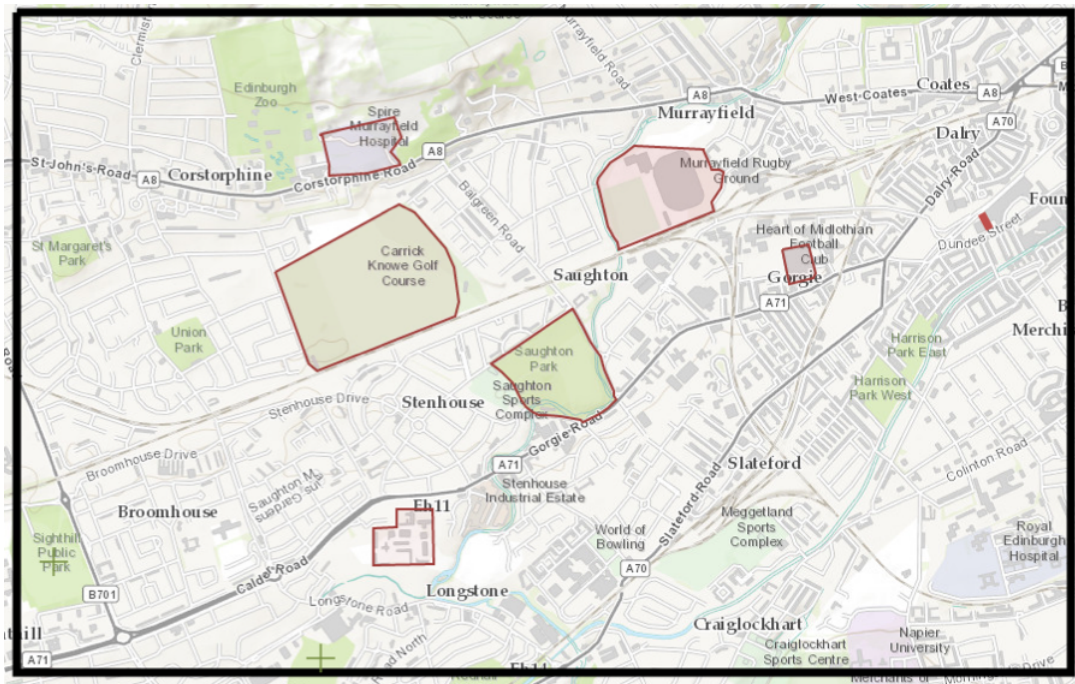


Figure 6.6 The Places most disliked (top) and places most liked (bottom). Due to the experiential nature of children's preferences, these are largely the same with the exception of the Water of Leith, the Zoo and Meggetland and Saughton Sports Complexes

Gender difference is also a spatial issue that came out during the exercises, with a slightly higher proportion of boys indicating their like or dislike for a particular football team, the AstroTurf, or a sports complex on their map than girls. Meanwhile, the girls spoke little of current sports provision, but

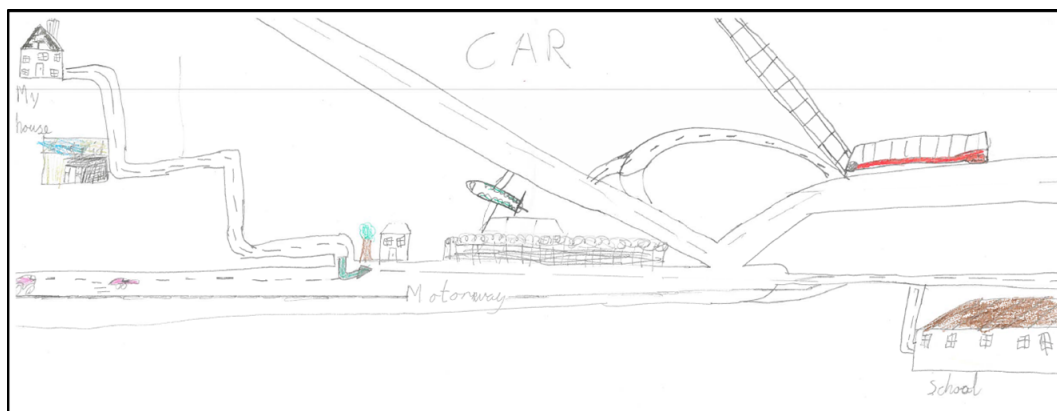
raised suggestions about other types of sporting facilities they would like to see in the area such as basketball and trampolines. As a result, the range of likes, dislikes, opinions and suggestions from girls in the group fit less easily into the same broad categories as many of the boys' views. This aligns with assertions that space for children to play in Scotland is a wider social justice issue than children alone, with evidence from the most recent Scottish Household Survey that boys have greater permissions to go outside unaccompanied than girls (McKendrick, 2015). This also links with wider societal difficulties of girls engaging less in physical activity than their male contemporaries (NICE, 2009).

6.3 Travel to school

The experiential view of place is also important to understand children's movements and journeys. The route to and from school is likely the most travelled route of any primary school child, and previous studies suggest children view places differently depending on their mode of travel (Cele, 2005). This was replicated in this study when the participating children drew or wrote about their travel to school. In particular, children who do not use active travel (walking, cycling, scooting or skateboarding) may miss out on the wayfaring element of journeys (Lester et al., 2008). They may have to forge heterotopias that are disconnected from the outdoor environment, affecting their attachment to place. In this study, children who were driven had more difficulty drawing the exact route they take on a map, with some children drawing very vague or non-sensical journeys. This recalls Fang & Lin's (2016) recent study that the use of active travel modes to school increases children's spatial cognition of the local environment. This also extended to the few children who took the bus to school, who were usually aware of how they walk to the bus stop, and which bus they take, but not necessarily the route the bus travels.

Perhaps most interesting about children's mode of travel to school is that those driven were most likely to draw their route as a map, with particular landmarks picked out along the way (Figure 6.7). Conversely, the most common approach overall was for the children to either write a passage about their journey (with or without illustrations) or to produce a labelled illustration of where they go, and what they see, hear and smell. This suggests, that car travel can divorce children from environmental experience, and like the metaphor of the boat in Foucault's (1986) heterotopia, the car becomes its own 'place without a place', constantly moving, but never stable. This means that children remember well established landmarks along the way, or the names of roads, but do not develop the experiential relationship that children who walk develop (Cele, 2006). In contrast, Joshi et al. (1999) suggest that

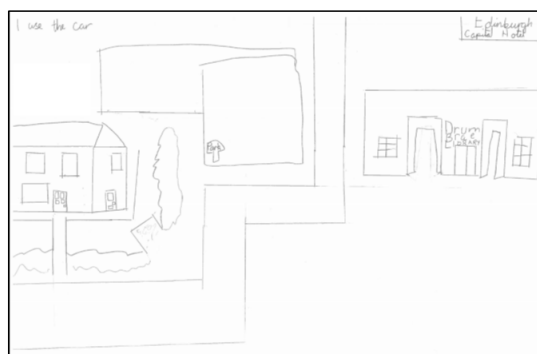
mode of travel to school has little effect on children's spatial perceptions, but the act of accompaniment by an adult, which is inevitable for car journeys, can increase their knowledge of landmarks, and therefore predispose them to a more technical (or adult) understanding of place.



Hassan in P5/6 gets driven around 12.5km to school



Adnan in P6 gets driven around 2.5km to school



Ethan in P6 gets driven around 5km to school

Figure 6.7 Children driven to school were more likely to produce a map of their journey than children using other methods of travel.

In contrast to the children usually driven to school, the children that walk were more able to describe the sights and smells they notice along the way. Figure 6.8 shows some examples from children that walk to school, though as the children live varying distances away, and had different opinions of their journeys, some provided more detail than others. For instance, Isabel demonstrated a close connection with her walking environment, remembering the details of a friend's home she passes, the relationship she has with the lollipop lady (School Crossing Patrol Officer), and small details such as a sign for a missing pet on the lamppost. Callum commented in similar detail, yet, Dylan had little to say about his route. Interestingly 6/49 children that took part in the session scoot to school on most days, and these participants appear to have a similar attachment to place as the children who walk. The way the children expressed themselves in this exercise suggests there are many features of the built environment, travel mode and individual personality that affect how a walking or scooting child represent their journey, yet

these did not come through as strongly for children that are driven to school.

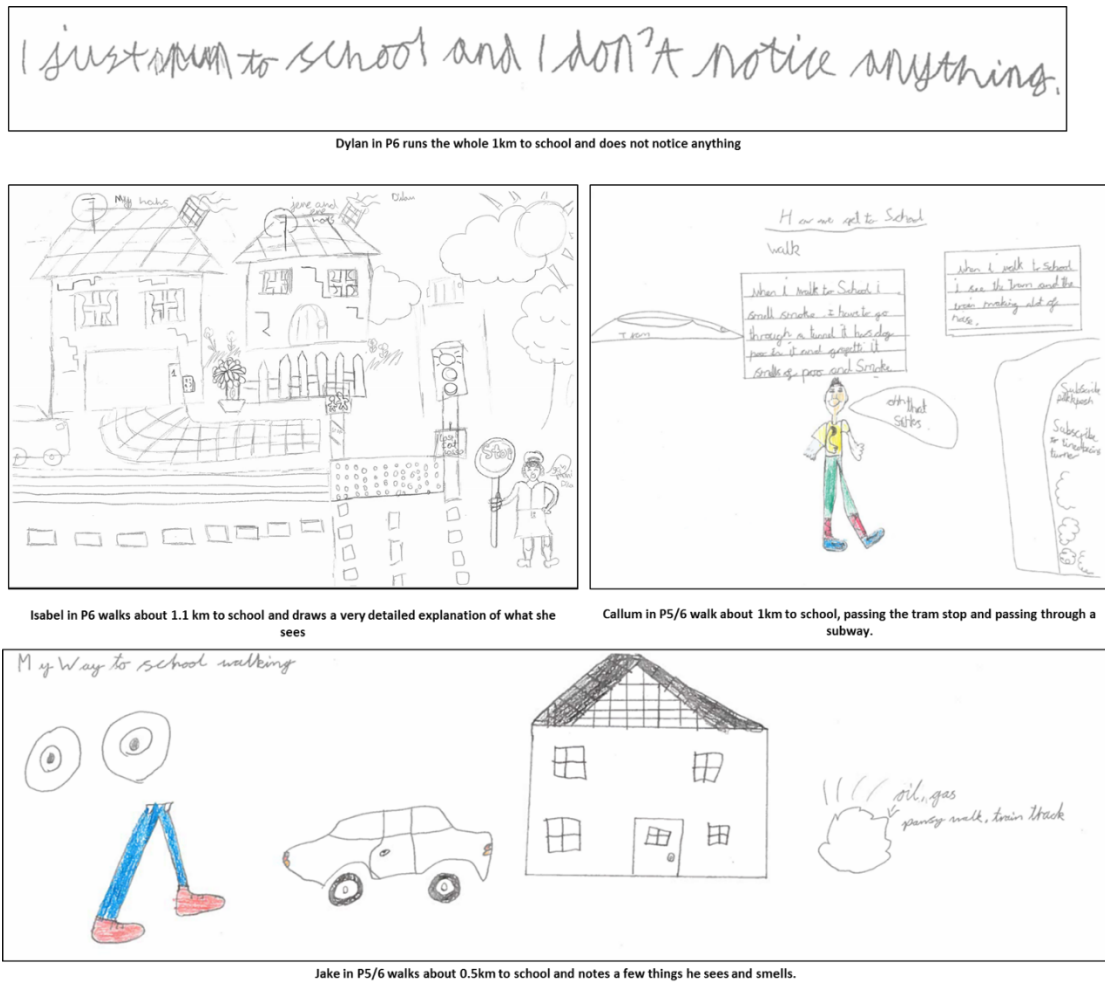


Figure 6.8 A range of ways children represented their walking journeys to school.

Differences in place perception based on travel mode are important in understanding children's relationship with space. However, one thing in common across children using all modes was a general dislike of cars and their effects. In class discussions, the children were mostly negative about being driven to school. Whilst some studies suggest driving a child to school is a positive way for parents to spend valuable time with their children (Granville et al., 2002) for these pupils, being driven meant getting up earlier, long, boring waits in traffic, and a lack of interaction with friends. In contrast, for children who walk, scoot, or get the bus to school, traffic and the associated noise, smells and inconvenience were the most commented on negative aspect of their journeys. This suggests that both being in a car and being close to cars affects the cultivation of children's heterotopias, as those within are deprived of sensory experiences and social connections, whilst those outside smell, see and navigate

the impact of cars on their environment. This breaks the connection between internal enjoyment of space, and external pressures such as keeping safe. Moreover, children being driven to school increases the number of cars on the road , with UK government estimates suggesting that one in five cars during rush hour is transporting a child/children (House of Commons Education and Skills Select & Committee, 2004).

Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2011) finds that Scotland is not yet moving in the right direction to prioritise active travel on the journey to school, with studies finding the number of children walking to school between 2008 and 2012 falling from 51.8% to 49.6% (Sustrans, 2013). This is broadly the same as the figures produced from the two Balgreen primary school classes (Figure 6.9), with the mean distance to school 1.47km. The most common way of travel is walking at 51%, and the next most common, being driven at 20%.

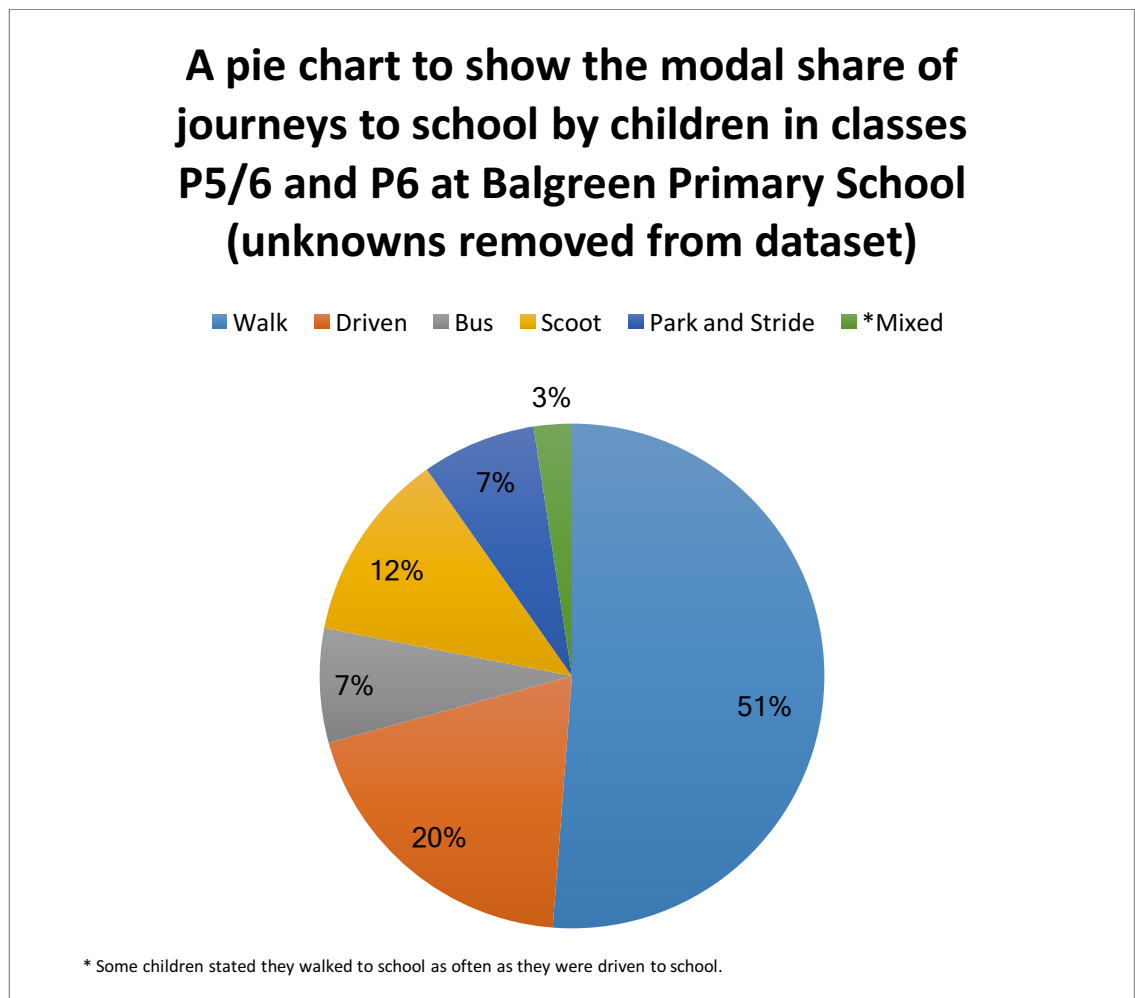


Figure 6.9 the modal split for participant's journeys to school

When all routes the children take are collated into a map, and seen in relation to the three major ‘A’ Roads running through the area (Figure 6.10), it shows the roads and paths used most frequently by the children, and unsurprisingly involves them interacting with busy roads on a regular basis. Interestingly, and following the Sustrans (2013) data, the younger class has a higher percentage of walkers than the older class, and though not statistically a large enough sample, proportionally more boys walk to school than girls across the classes. This may be due to higher protection often associated with girls, and parents therefore preferring to drive them to school than allow them to walk to school alone (Zwerts et al., 2010). However, for all groups in this area, the high traffic volumes, limited walkability, and a lack of singular community likely limits the extent of children’s walking, as Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2013) found these factors all to be key determinants of how much children walk to school.



Figure 6.10 The three A roads running through the Balgreen Primary School Catchment area, and the roads most travelled by children in P5/6 and P6 at Balgreen Primary School

Davison et al., (2003) track the attitudes of different age groups of children towards sustainable transport, and find that primary school children are particularly interested in making journeys more fun. Increasing walking, cycling and scooting to school would likely improve the quality of children's spatial experience, and expand their access to play and leisure opportunities, with any outdoor time for children being a chance to wayfare through their environments. The latest Sustrans's (2013) figures for Edinburgh, show that active modes of travel have increased since 2009, with the predominant reason being an increase in scooting or skateboarding to school. The children at Balgreen Primary commonly described their scooting routes with enthusiasm, but many wished to be allowed to cycle to school. As none currently did cycle, this places them below the city average, which is unsurprising considering the lack of off-road routes the children could take to reach the school. Indeed, cycling could provide a more viable opportunity for children to connect with their surroundings than the car. This suggests scope for considering how cycling could become more viable for children in this area.

6.4 Licence to roam

Whilst the children's maps and drawings detail their routes and mode of travel to *school*, an exercise completed with the children on a later visit shines light on the children's wider travel experiences, and shows that 28/50 pupils were allowed to go to school by themselves. Interestingly, this was 34.8% of P6/7 and 70.4% of P7, suggesting, as previous studies have, that age 11-12 is an important transition period for providing children more independence (Shaw et al., 2013). This relationship between children's independence and the licenses granted them by adults lead Mikkelsen & Christensen (2009) and Nansen et al., (2015) to view children's mobility, not as independent, but as interdependent, and therefore a complex collection of social, environmental and economic issues. Parents mediate it most directly, but the structure of the built environment interacts with social issues to determine where parents allow children to go.

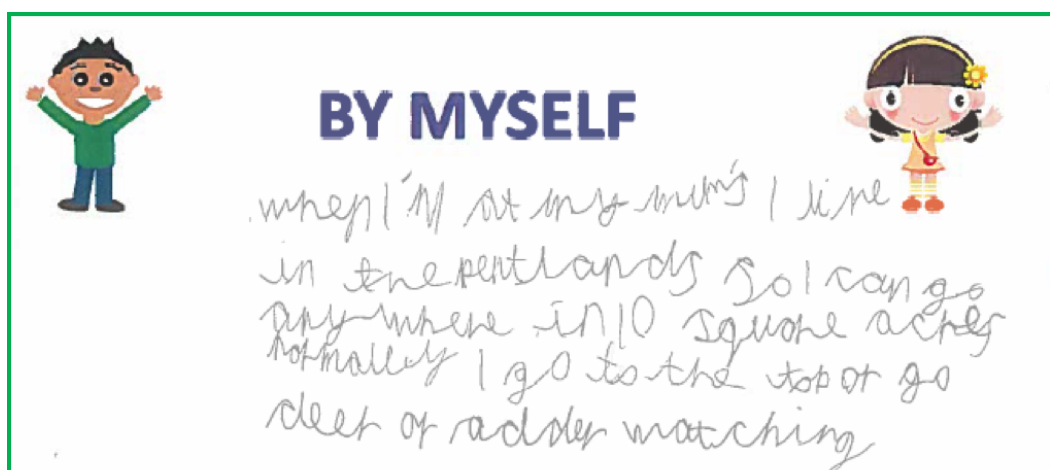
Table 6.1 shows the most common places the children reported being permitted to go by themselves. These figures show all places, broadly grouped into types, that more than three children included in their independent mobility exercise. Though the majority of children can go to nearby shops by themselves, there is limited consensus on the number of places they can go alone. This means that some children have significantly more freedom than others. Indeed, the worksheet the children filled in asked where they could go outside with adults, and the most common answer from the children was

‘anywhere’ or ‘everywhere’. This suggests that the children’s mobility is very adult dependent, with the built environment accessible mostly only through accompaniment.

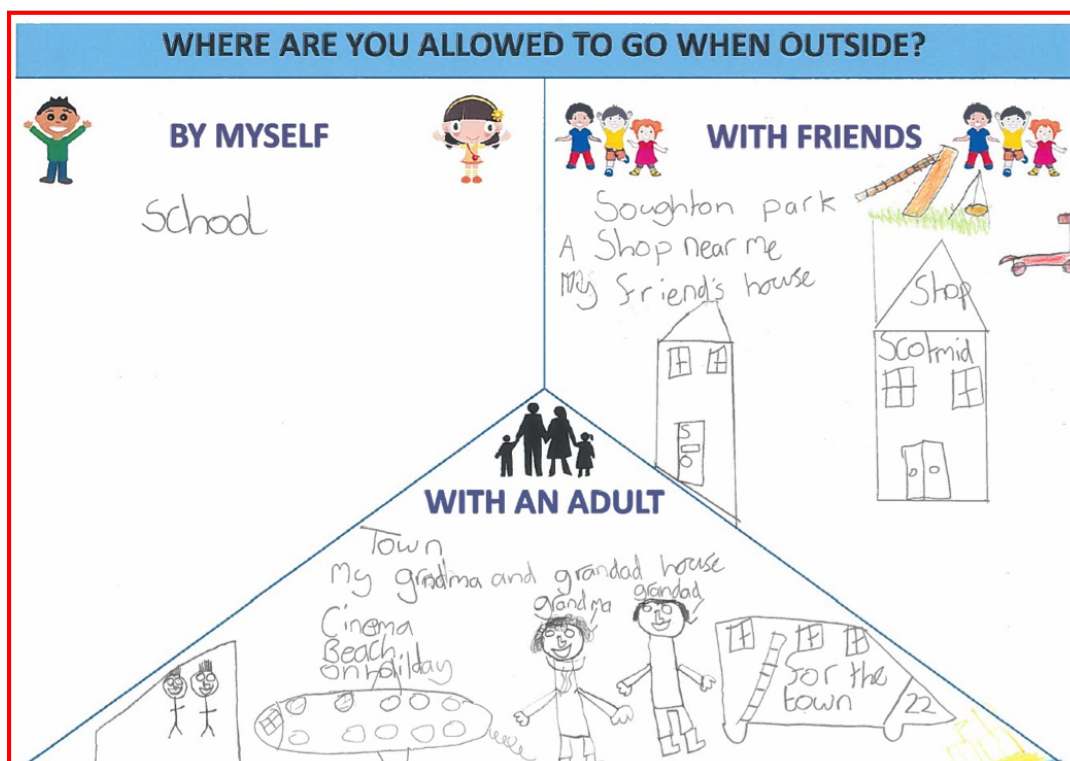
Table 6.1 Places children self-report being allowed to go by themselves

Places children report being allowed by themselves					
	School	A Friend or Relative's House	Close by Places (such as the street or very local green space)	Close by Shops	Local Parks
% of children	56%	36%	32%	68%	22%

The children’s freedom varies drastically across the classes. For instance, Figure 6.11 shows how Jack, when living with his Mum can explore the nearby countryside quite freely, yet Sophie, who lives around 0.4km from the school can only go to school by herself. In contrast, she can think of many places she enjoys going with adults. However, as these sheets show, even though I asked the children to note down their thoughts and feelings about the places they can go, not all children expressed any, with many focusing on providing facts rather than opinion.



Jack in P6/7 writes about the freedom he has to roam when he is at his Mum's home
'when I'm at my mum's I live in the pentlands so I can go anywhere in 10 square
aches [sic] normally I go to the top or go deer or adder watching'



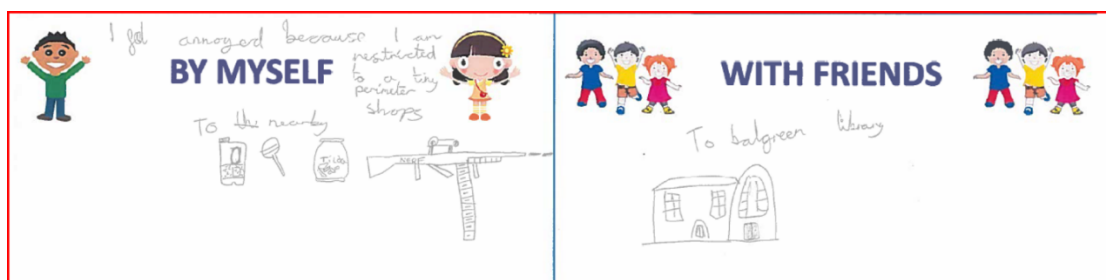
Sophie in P6/7 can only go to school by herself, and is allowed to go to a few more places
with friends. However, with adults she has many more opportunities.

Figure 6.11 Difference in freedoms between children

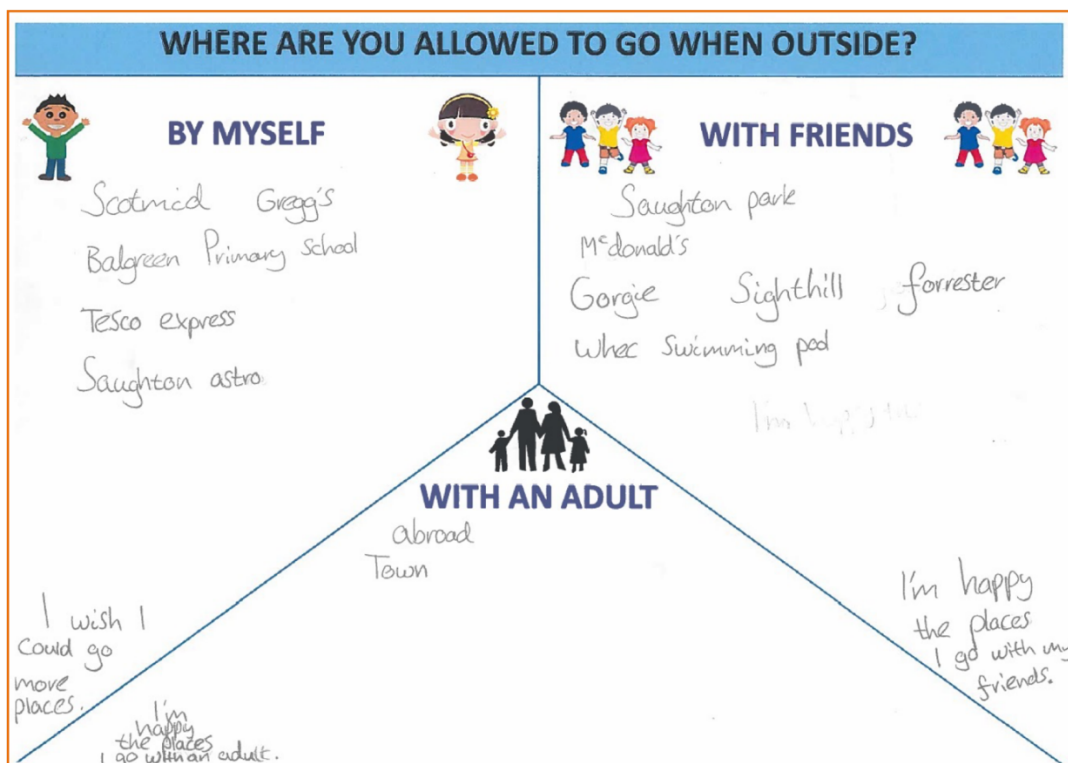
Overall, 35% of P6/7 gave no response on their feelings about where they can go by themselves, and in P7 this was 56%. This totals 46% across the two classes, and this lack of response carried through for the worksheet section on mobility with their friends. Here, 57% in P6/7 and 74% in P7 gave no

response, and this totals 66% of the pupils. This fact-based approach to filling in the sheet may be explained by a number of factors. For instance, some children may not have wanted to express an opinion, or equally may not have had one. Indeed, as I walked around and asked the children how they felt about where they could go, many children seemed confused, and did not appear to grasp the relevance of the question. For some, this could be due to the way I phrased it, but equally it may not be something the children think about.

Hassan and Samuel in Figure 6.12 are good examples of children who are unhappy with the number of places they can visit by themselves. They express some of the strongest sentiments of the group, with most other children indicating their views more simply such as by writing 'happy' or drawing a happy face. The fact these children are in the minority for expressing negative feelings suggests it is a normal experience for children of this age and in this area to grow up dependent on adults to expose them to the outdoor world (Shaw et al., 2015). It is probable that they see this as the way things are, and do not feel they are missing out, or realise how their experience differs from previous generations of children. This contrasts with the romantic ideals of children exploring the world for themselves, and the narrative of much of children's fiction that searches for independence and escape (Cunningham & Morpurgo, 2006).



Hassan in P6/7 , who lives around 12km from the school writes 'I feel annoyed because I am restricted to a tiny perimeter', and with friends, only lists the library next door to the school.



Samuel in P6/7 , who lives around 2 km from the school states under 'By Myself': 'I wish I could go more places.', and under 'With Friends': 'I'm happy the places I go with my friends.'

Figure 6.12 some children were unhappy about the places they go alone

The most extreme example of personal restriction comes from Luke who is a wheelchair user. His worksheet (Figure 6.13) shows that he can only go outside with an adult. For him this is not an issue, and he expresses no wish to have more independence. This is characteristic of literature that consistently reports that freedoms of disabled children are particularly low (Davey & Lundy, 2011). In a different vein, Joury is only allowed a few places by herself, but she values that she does not always need to be accompanied by friends or adults.

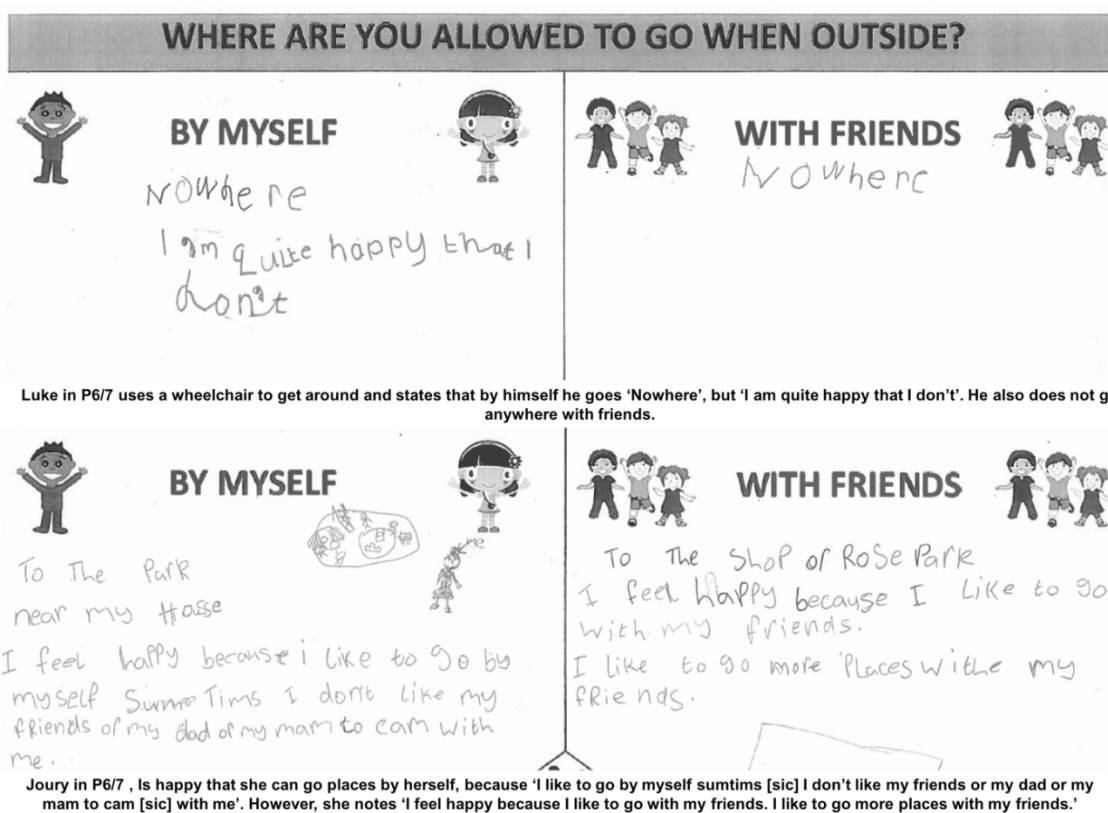


Figure 6.13 some children were happy not to go out by themselves and some appreciate being alone sometimes.

When I take only the children who did report their feeling about their freedom into account,

Table 6.2 shows the majority of children are happy with where they can go alone. Indeed, the majority are also happy with the places they can go with friends, which fits with Zwerts et al. (2010) finding that socialising with friends can compensate for children's lack of independent freedoms, but children in the older class are much less happy. This means that the majority do wish they were granted more licenses to socialise outdoors, and this is important, as it further emphasises that social interaction is important to them, and helps them seek out a wider range of potential heterotopias. This may also link with the older children's awareness of the greater freedoms they will enjoy in the following year when they move to secondary school. Moreover, the places they could go outdoors with friends already ranged more widely than when independent, but it was often specific places they wished to be allowed to go to. For instance, the most requested place to be allowed to go with friends was the local swimming pool, but interestingly, this was all from girls, whilst many of the boys were happy that they could already visit local sports centres with their friends. This reiterates the privileging of boys' sporting preferences over girls' in the area.

Table 6.2 the percentages of children reporting positive, negative and neutral feelings about their mobility when independent of adults

Category	Happy/no wish for more			Unhappy/wish for more			OK/Fine		
	<u>P6/7</u>	<u>P7</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>P6/7</u>	<u>P7</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>P6/7</u>	<u>P7</u>	<u>Total</u>
By Myself (As % of respondents)	73%	75%	74%	20%	17%	19%	7%	8%	7%
With Friends (As % of respondents)	70%	29%	53%	10%	71%	35%	20%	0%	12%

In a number of the worksheets, the theme of safety, and particular prescribed rules, were evident in the children's responses. Figure 6.14 shows how Alex talks of the dangers of getting lost, even when accompanied by an adult. Meanwhile, Max details that he can cross quiet streets alone or use traffic lights, but he can only cross busy roads with an adult. This limits his range from home as the area has high traffic flow. Similarly, Ryan details how his independence is dependent on whether an adult can see him from a window. He also has some independence to walk around the particular district where he lives, and stresses that he can go anywhere with a 'trusted' adult. An increase in the role of safety concerns in children's lives fits with trends in previous research about parental fears and children's own concerns (Valentine, 1997; Valentine & McKendrick, 1998; Harden, 2000; Backett-Milburn, 2004; Veitch et al., 2006). Indeed, some members of the Friends of Saughton Park group expressed concerns over the safety of younger children being alone in the park, citing risks such as paedophilia as a reason to ensure good surveillance throughout the park.

BY MYSELF





- o around the front and back of my flat.
- o except if i'm walking to my gran's house (Oxgangs).
- o down the street (as long as i'm in view from my house window).
- o to friends houses (as long as they live in Gorgie)

o I am allowed anywhere with my parents or another trusted adult.

Ryan in P7 has conditions on his independent mobility such as 'as long as I'm in view from my house window' and 'as long as they live in Gorgie'. When it comes to mobility with adults: 'I am allowed anywhere with my parents or another trusted adult.'

BY MYSELF

In the garden
To school

Not far from house.
Rid my bike around my house
I like that.

any where but not lost in case death end and someone will kill us.

Alex in P7 is not allowed far from the home by himself but with an adults can go 'any where but not lost in case death end and someone will kill us'.

BY MYSELF



Balgreen Primary School
My local Scotmid
Crossing quiet streets
Crossing at the traffic lights

Crossing busy roads

Max in P7 notes how he is allowed to cross quiet streets, but must have an adult with him to cross at busy roads.

Figure 6.14 Children talk about the importance of safety in determining where they can and cannot go.

If children's permission to walk around the local area is restricted, then other transport may provide them greater freedom. However, public transport was something only a few children were allowed to use by themselves or with friends. Indeed, for those that could, the permission was largely conditional, such as visiting a particular relative, or accessing a shopping centre. This fits the trend identified by (Shaw et al., 2015) that it is only by age 14 that the majority of children, across their international comparison, are allowed by their parents to use local buses. Combining the work of Hillman et al. (1990) and O'Brien et al. (2000) shows the percentage of children age 10-11 being allowed to use buses alone saw the most dramatic decline in the period from 1971 to 2000. This reluctance, along with the potential costs for some parents, is perhaps one of the greatest limitations for children to access the range of facilities they might want to use. In contrast with Edinburgh, where a child's single bus ticket (from age 5 to 15) costs 80p, the mayor of London made bus transport free for children in 2005, and consequently, the number of children using buses increased dramatically across the city (Goodman et al., 2014).

The extent of the children's freedom to go outside without an adult, as reported by the children themselves, is restricted in the case study area. The variation in the range of freedom and feelings of children of the same age, and living within close range of each other, suggests a complex interplay of factors that affects the children's independent mobility and their feelings towards it. The personality and capabilities of each child is probably a factor in their freedom, along with the range of experiences in close proximity to their home, and the attitudes and perceptions of their carers. However, most of the children live in short distance of a range of leisure activities, and live in an area of the city well served by public transport. Therefore, there are clearly more complex issues determining where adults allow children, but the lack of aspiration many of the children have for more freedoms appears symptomatic of the trend that childhood is increasingly lived indoors (Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2014). Moreover, a Play Scotland interviewee notes:

‘we have parents now who have never played out so it is unlikely they will encourage their children to go out and play. We played out, we restricted our children playing out, but the next generation of kids never played out. What is gonna happen with all this indoor reared animal species?’

Adding to this concern, a recent poll of children across the UK found that 37% of children have not played outside by themselves in the last six months (The Wildlife Trusts, 2015). Without children exploring outside by themselves and seeing natural environments, there is a chance they will grow up more stressed, dependent and physically inactive (Thomas et al., 2004; Bird, 2007; The RSPB, 2010). Indeed, a Scottish longitudinal study shows a link between poor quality local green spaces and children

spending more time in front of television or computer screens. Additionally, mothers who are physically inactive are more likely to raise children who are also physically inactive (Parkes et al., 2012). This situation is thus a clear breach of a child's right to participate in public space, but if they are not aware of it themselves, children are unlikely to protest.

The above comment by the Play Scotland interviewee may also apply to a new generation of planners, and affect their professional attitude. On one hand, the lack of negative feeling the children in this study showed towards the extent of their own mobility can legitimise a planning approach that similarly does not value their freedoms, particularly if planners give precedence to the children's feelings above all other considerations. On the other hand, if planners take a rights-based perspective, they need to consider the interconnectivity of the various articles, and how a child's right to participate in decision-making (Article 12) interacts with a child's right to play and participate in everyday life (Article 31). Taken seriously, a rights-based perspective brings greater imperative for planning to overcome the restrictions in freedom many children face (even if adult planners faced similar restrictions when they were children) by drawing on expert knowledge of the value to rights, health and wellbeing, and for children to form their own independent place attachments. Therefore, it is vital that planners take the holistic view of children's rights, and do not focus purely on their participation in the process of decision-making (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013). This further strengthens the case for a focus on striving for the child friendly city as an outcome of the planning process (Gleeson & Sipe, 2006).

6.5 Saughton Park as a Heterotopia of Compensation

Building on his initial conjecture of heterotopia, Foucault categorises some heterotopias into varying types of land use that government has used to order space (Foucault, 1986). Heterotopias of Compensation are Foucault's term for land uses that attempt to fix a problem in society by simplifying it into something manageable (Johnson, 2006). They may provide a compensatory space for 'abnormal' things that cannot be contained within the dominant structures of the environment. Playgrounds are a good example of these, making up for the non-child focus of planning by assigning a space where children can safely be children. They provide the 'perfect' place for play, creating segregation from the non-child-friendly environment, and solving the problem children represent.

Whilst playgrounds provide for a very specific form of heterotopia of compensation, parks in general also serve a similar purpose in society. These spaces are often a distinct break in urban form, and initially developed as spaces for the wealthy to enjoy nature, then transformed over time into places for the working classes to find relief from the stresses of everyday life (Certoma, 2015). Today, parks are targeted at all types of people, with larger parks serving as potential attractions, and smaller parks often meeting a community need. Saughton Park is classed as a 'premier park', and therefore a potential destination from across the city (City of Edinburgh Council, 2009), with the purpose of the Heritage Lottery Fund 'parks for people' bid to restore it so some of its former glory (City of Edinburgh Council, 2013a). Currently, the park provides for more exclusive appreciation of nature in the walled garden, and general community use in the open spaces it provides. An officer involved in the park restoration commented in interview:

'People got expectations of how other people should act in a park, and what's acceptable and what's not... but people can come in to the park and pretty much do what they like... [This makes them] Wonderful spaces actually'

The children agreed with this notion, with 33 out of 35 children that mentioned it on their maps, listing it as a liked space. They also displayed enthusiasm in expressing how it should change in the future. The park, along with the Water of Leith were also described by the children as important places to experience nature, and suggest the great value they can have for children's play, and general health and wellbeing (Bird, 2007; Hiscock & Mitchell, 2011; Parkes et al., 2012).

Conversely, in Foucault's logic, parks can also be places of social control (Certoma, 2015), and the officer working on the park restoration, in acknowledging their love for the park, ties up the idea that people can do what they want, with the idea that parks are self-regulating. This can be positive as it makes a space for a variety of activities. However, one of the child participants in this study, Harvey in P6, reported several instances where gardeners in the park did not welcome his presence, and asked him to leave. Additionally, Figure 6.15 shows a sign in Saughton Park that attempts to establish the rules of children's play. These rules are arguably impossible to follow as there is always a risk that play could damage other people's property or be unsafe, yet similar risks apply to most human activity. In spite of this, such instructions may lead to tighter restrictions on what adults permit children to do and constrain their field of free action (Kytta, 2004, see page 34). In doing this, children may also learn over time that their actions are not socially acceptable. Alternatively, they may resist rules, and face being labelled as disobedient and problematic.



Figure 6.15 Governmentality influencing children's play as a regulated, sanctioned activity in Saughton Park

When talking about the things they would like to see in Saughton Park, many of the children mentioned removing graffiti, making things more colourful, and introducing more plants and flowers. This links with children's widely-reported affinity for nature (Chawla, 1992). However, the needs that children have for public space, including both the park and wider area, can be at odds with how adults use it, but also how teenagers use it. Many children were concerned with anti-social behaviour, and this can both encourage children to mediate their own access to outdoor space, and for adults to restrict their mobility (Harden, 2000; Thomas et al., 2004; Prezza et al., 2005; Barclay & Tawil, 2015). For instance, class discussions often turned to the 'bad things' the children have seen other people doing (such as being drunk on the street, drinking outside, and seeing or hearing about people committing crimes), and how graffiti, dog fouling and litter particularly affect their lives. Their perceptions confirm the reported fear children have of teenagers and adults who break social rules, and both classes showed consistent confusion of the activities of teenagers in particular (Thomas et al., 2004). They frequently reported how

they felt teenagers colonised areas such as the Skatepark, and expressed their disapproval of them acting in ways they deem morally wrong.

This tension between how some members of the community view the park and what others wish for it to be was also evident throughout Friends of Saughton Park meetings. Here, members of the local community often talked about how the behaviour of teenagers has been a historic problem (teenagers were blamed for setting fire to the original bandstand and for damages to the playground in 2007 and 2011 (Tibbit, 2011) and for more recent vandalism and fires in the summer of 2015). This anti-social behaviour led to lengthy discussions at meetings, and increasing involvement from the police in monitoring park activity. In fact, the City of Edinburgh Council is considering a youth dispersal order, which would mean youths in groups (two or more) would be required to disperse, or receive an antisocial behavioural order (Scotland & Scottish Executive, 2004). This extreme step arguably stems from a lack of attention to teenagers' needs in public space, and the general lack of understanding and tolerance of how they act (Matthews et al., 1998; Elsley, 2004). Not only does this affect their rights to participate in outdoor play and leisure, but also to their right enshrined in article 15 of the UNCRC to gather (UN, 1989). This suggests that parks, even in their aims towards inclusivity, are still subject to the norms and trends of wider society. In a similar way to playgrounds, they provide fertile ground for children to play, but the wishes of certain people can dominate in the shape of, often unspoken, social conventions (Kallio & Häkli, 2011).

Saughton Park as a heterotopia of compensation highlights the difficulty of planning for the simultaneous needs of different groups, and questions the role that organised groups can and should have in establishing the norms and competencies others should show when exercising their right to public space. Moreover, it also questions whether spaces intended for 'all' can be truly inclusive, and why, if their use of space is so widely considered problematic, teenagers do not receive greater attention in land use allocation.

6.6 Heterotopias of Deviation

One thing of particular note is the intrigue many of the children expressed for what Foucault (1986) terms 'Heterotopias of Deviation'. These are particular places that have been deliberately constructed,

and thus allocated by planners, to deal with a particular form of ‘otherness’, and are examples of where a social crisis has required a spatial response. This could be retirement homes or hospitals, but the places that particularly captured the imagination of the children, were the old Saughtonhall asylum that used to exist in Saughton Park, and the prison (Her Majesty’s Prison (HMP) Edinburgh) down the road from the school. These non-everyday spaces that the children frequently see, but cannot access, suggest a crossing of the real and the imaginary. As Johnson (2006, p. 85) explains:

‘The prison and asylum are open-ended, ambivalent and contradictory places, enclosures for both punishing and generating criminals, for both liberating and morally imprisoning the mad. They are the ideals full of fantasy, mirroring and at the same time inverting what is outside. Separate the moral intentions, the prison and the asylum become a source of fascination, a forbidden place of secret pleasures’

The fascination with the prison could be an attempt of children to transcend some of the restrictions on their everyday lives. Whilst they mostly have little direct contact with it, the prison holds symbolic meaning and intrigue.

Cele (2006) found children to be intrigued by fear and ‘otherness’, and the forbidden element of a prison can evoke an air of mystery that may excite some passers-by. The children talked about liking to walk near the prison, and one boy told me a story about how his sister had once climbed over the prison wall. To the children, prisons could be a good space, for they allow the more harmonious functioning of society by keeping bad people away, but they can also be bad spaces for the same reason. As Figure 6.16 shows, they represent intriguing possibilities for Harvey, but to Kyle, with direct experience of the prison, they become emotional places. This also shows that whilst the prison exists to maintain the proper functioning of society, it has its own impact on its surroundings and creates a multitude of other heterotopias for those on the outside. Interestingly, Foucault’s (1977) exploration of the prison focuses on the surveillance within, but the children are interested by the lack of outside transparency with what happens inside. No matter the individual reasons for the fascination, it is clear that the prison sparks a lot of intrigue amongst the children in the area, as it was mentioned by 10 participants (six liked it, three disliked it, and one thought it was OK) on their maps. Furthermore, it was a vivid topic of conversation in the classroom during the mapping exercise, particularly in P6.

Any
 ♥ = Things I like
 Red
 ☆ = My house / School
 Yellow
 ○ = Things I don't like

 I put a heart on the prison because I want to see someone being tazored.

Harvey in P6 writes 'I put a heart on the prison because I want to see someone being tazored'

Because they
 might be bad
 people in the
 world that
 should go here

 PRISONS ARE
 awesome

Dylan in P6 writes 'Prisons are awesome Because they might be bad people in the world that should go there'



The back of HMP Edinburgh (Saughton Prison) view looking north from Longstone Road. It is surrounded to the west and south by fenced off, undeveloped land which has been for sale for several years.

HMPPrison Because bad people go there

Alfie in P6 writes 'HMPPrison Because bad people go there' in his key under things he dislikes.

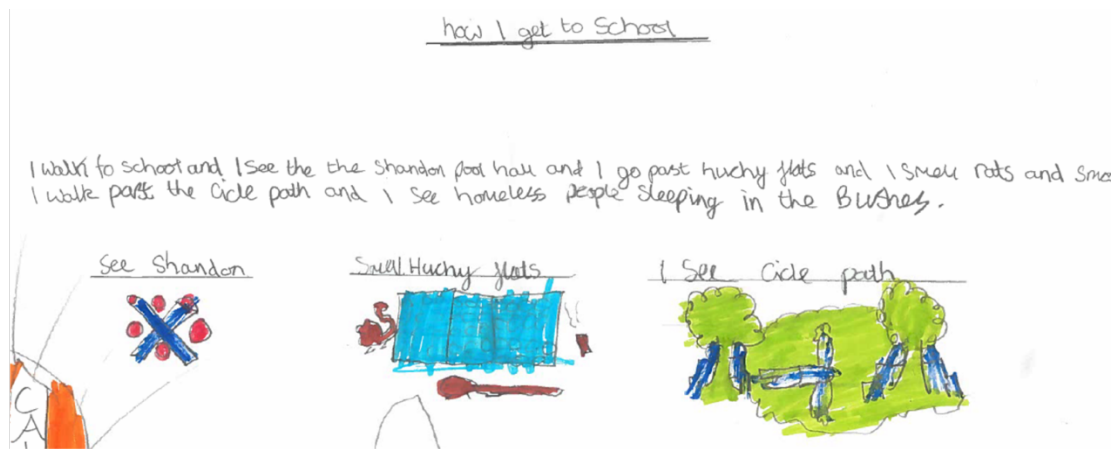
I dont like the prison because my dad has been their before and I didne got
 to see him only at the weekends.

Kyle in P6 writes 'I don't like the prison because my dad has been their before and I didne [sic] got to see him only at the weekends.'

Figure 6.16 HMP Edinburgh, usually known as 'Saughton Prison', was a great source of fascination for the children

The planning system considers prisons a bad neighbour development, with planners assuming people do not want to live near them. The large development site around the prison which has been up for sale for residential development for years reflects this. However, in some of the children's views it *can* be positive to live near a prison. In a similar vein, Foucault views cemeteries as particularly interesting 'heterochronias' (Johnson, 2006), or a discontinuity in time, because they are a place straddling the living and the dead. The children in this study also frequently flagged cemeteries as liked or disliked, often because they are peaceful and quiet places where they could visit relatives, but for Joshua in P5/6, they were a scary place due to a recent death in the family, and this sense of loss dominated his map. This makes them heterotopias with varied symbolic meaning for different people.

The children's account of their walk to school provides further evidence of their propensity for mystery and the unknown. For instance, Callum detailed how his walk to school involves passing an area where homeless people sleep at night (Figure 6.17). Having lived close to this area for three years, I was unaware that rough sleepers used this grassy bank bounded by an industrial site and cycle path. Indeed, I do not know if this is common knowledge to the people living by the path. This is one of the forgotten spaces often flagged by the children, or like the undeveloped and privately owned land around the prison, an area disregarded by developers or public investment and therefore left unregulated. In this way, children may suffer from the loss of land for their play and recreation, a constraint on permeable access across the area, and a range of informal uses that may be intriguing to a child, yet they may also pose a range of scary or interesting possibilities. In the case of the abandoned grassy bank, it contrasts with the adjacent site to the west of well-maintained and exclusive bowling greens.



Kyle in P6 writes about his walk to school:
'I walk past the cicle path and I see homeless people sleeping in the Bushes'. He also includes a drawing of a homeless person next to the cycle path.



Figure 6.17 Bank of wild land adjacent to foot and cycle path, bounded by industrial sites to the north.

6.7 The power of place, space and process

Foucault's governmentality describes how complex networks of power flow at varying levels throughout society. This impacts on individual, everyday lives, yet power often operates without a clear face (see chapter four). For instance, in the built environment, various exertions of power from many unclear faces have contributed to the complex systems of infrastructure, architecture and urban design we experience in towns and cities today. Whilst these are an amalgamation of many instances of power over time, their relatively fixed structure plays its part in shaping the decisions that *can* be made in the present. The attitudes of people influencing the built environment have both helped shape it, and are continually influenced by it. Viewing space through the frame of governmentality therefore allows an understanding of how space itself is a technology of power that can unconsciously produce a variety of wider effects. For instance, playgrounds began as an adult construct of how children should play and

behave (Cunningham & Jones, 1999; Gagen, 2000; Hart, 2002; Davey & Lundy, 2011). However, over time both planners and non-planners have come to see them as the primary space of children's play. Concomitantly, streets have become places for transport, and not for play, and parents may be reluctant for children to travel alone in areas with high volumes of traffic (Valentine & McKendrick, 1998; Barker, 2003; Mitchell et al., 2007).

Adults (planners in particular) seek to designate heterotopia to fix it temporally, and spatially so it can be categorised and managed. This leads to the allocation of theatres, cinemas, bowling alleys and restaurants, but not to playful, engaging and pedestrian-friendly environments (Dehaene & Cauter, 2008). However, if adults view children as heterotopians, and play as a natural element of their pursuit, then the value of child-friendly environments and how adults can help cultivate them becomes clearer. In other words:

'It's this dilemma about thinking that adults can provide play. They can't. You know, even putting in a playground doesn't necessarily mean kids will play there'

Dr Stuart Lester (interview)

What planners can do, is thus ensure space is available and welcoming for children to create their own heterotopias. This would require a planning approach that understands the variety of play affordances that any given environment can provide a child (Kytä, 2003). For instance, when a child is presented with a doll to play with, the most likely form their play will take it to treat the doll like a baby or a small child. However, when a child is presented with a rock, they may imagine that object into any variety of potential play objects. In a similar vein, the built environment can provide standardised play equipment that a child can use for a limited number of purposes. However, open space, or the built environment as a whole can also provide a wide range of potential play experiences that cannot be envisaged by adults beforehand (Ward, 1990; Lester, 2014). Attention to the idea of heterotopia and the child-friendly city can help illuminate the potential of urban environments for children, but this is currently incompatible with the formalised approach of planning.

As this part of the city has been built at various times, and contains a large number of former industrial sites, it has not been planned with a coherent masterplan. This means the varying range of decisions made by different people that impact on the built environment have come to form it, leading to instances of unintentionally unwelcome design. For example, industrial sites surrounded by high fences, narrow pavements, and busy roads allow cars to drive fast and dominate the streetscape. There are many examples of this kind of design, most prominently around Saughton Park, shown in Figure 6.18.

All pedestrians may feel unwelcome in this environment, but children may feel further dominated by a fence that narrows the pavement, and allows only occasional access points to the park. Moreover, this fence blocks access to the 'community woodland', advertised by a sign placed directly behind the fence, and Figure 6.18 shows how one of the child participants suggests replacing fences around the park with more welcoming versions that fulfil the same purpose. These subtle planning and non-planning decisions that influence the built environment can combine to create places that are unfriendly to children.



Figure 6.18 Saughton Park is surrounded by a high fence, and fences are common around green areas in this area of the city. On the right Hassan in P5/6 shows his dislike of the fences, and suggests a lower alternative.

Further analysing the area from a planner's perspective, the allocation of space for certain uses and buildings allows particular features to dominate, and in itself this may dominate other interests. For instance, some potential restrictions for children's use of space come to light through examining the case study through GIS maps. It includes a premier park (Saughton Park), but a golf course which is

double the size (0.4km² to 0.2 km²). The area (Figure 6.1) also contains 16 public parks of varied sizes that together account for slightly more space than the golf course (3.91% compared with 3.71%). However, out of eight playing fields, only two are publicly accessible (City of Edinburgh Council, 2009; Sandison, 2012). It is also well provided with formal sports facilities, and areas for watching professional sport such as Tynecastle and Murrayfield Stadiums. These make the area distinct, but unlike the parks, are not free to use. This fits with narratives of the privatisation of childhood space, which is separating the experience of children from more and less affluent families (McKendrick et al., 2000; Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2014; Holloway, 2014). Indeed, many boys in this study complained on multiple occasions of the entrance fees for the AstroTurf at Saughton Sports Complex.

6.8 The attitudes of planners

The process of policy formation and evaluation in planning is important in defining how children's views and needs are considered. This makes the attitudes of planners a vital consideration in creating more child-friendly environments. Nonetheless, none of the planners I interviewed about children's rights picked up on the importance of understanding children's play, despite predicated each interview on the topic of 'children and planning'. Consequently, the planners assumed children's role in planning related primarily to their participation in the process, and not in the end result. This is further evidenced by the Equalities and Human Rights Impact Assessments (EHRIAs), or Equalities Impact Assessments (EqIAs) produced by each interviewed Scottish planning authority on their latest proposed or enacted plan. One states there will be no impact on the protected characteristic of age (South Lanarkshire Council, 2015), whilst two assume there will be a positive impact on young people through their plan (City of Edinburgh Council, 2013b; Aberdeen City Council, 2014). Exploring this attitude can begin to explain why children's experience of place may not be something planners consider in their work.

Whether or not local authority plans do impact children in any particular way, it is telling that planners make judgments based either on some consultation with teenagers, or through implicit assumption. For instance The City of Edinburgh Council makes the assertion that there is no positive or negative impact on the protected characteristic of age based *only* on a review of the following pre-existing written evidence:

- 'Government policies
- Monitoring Statement

- Environmental Report
- Housing Need and Demand Assessment
- Local Transport Strategy
- Transport Appraisal
- Education Assessment
- Local Housing Strategy'

(City of Edinburgh Council, 2013b, pp. 7–8)

As none of these policies relate explicitly to children's use of space, they do not provide evidence of what children need from planning. Such oversights mean the attitudes of planners towards children are not necessarily conducive to considering their needs, and will likely perpetuate existing patterns of limited independent mobility for children.

Though none of the planning authority interviewees showed an awareness of giving children the right to play and inhabit space at the beginning of the interviews, this does not mean they cannot understand them. During two interviews in Scotland with public sector officers, once I had finished the semi-structured questions, the conversation turned towards my own perspectives on children's rights and planning. In these discussions I brought up the topic of a child's right to play and participate in everyday life, with both interviewees asserting that they had not thought of planning's role in this way. Raising the topic allowed each interviewee to reflect on what planning issues might exist for children. For instance, one of them commented when discussing the limitations of playgrounds:

'I think you're right because I'm trying to remember where I used to play and I don't remember playing in the playground when I was a kid'

Meanwhile, in relation to how planners allocate space on new residential sites, a local authority officer commented:

'it won't be done on the basis of how children use space, and essentially it really ought to be done on that basis, and should we be able to say to a developer, "well no. You need to approach this with the point of view of the child because children have rights". Now, that would be great to know!'

Therefore, whilst many planners may currently be ignorant of children's actual use of space, if they understand its relationship to their work, they can begin considering it. Moreover, the local authority officer in the previous quotation provided helpful insights into children's play and the planning system, reflected in this chapter.

The fact that professionals, when informed, can become aware of their responsibilities towards children is important. It suggests that planners can become aware and equipped to consider children in their practise, and in doing so may help create spaces that positively affect the views and ideas of other people. For example, literature and interviews with those in the play sector brought up a number of simple issues that planning could deal with, such as the approach developers take to siting playgrounds in new housing developments. As identified by one Welsh local authority officer in interview, inappropriately placed play space can mean:

‘you could get in the adult’s car and they could drive you there if they could be bothered, and then they could drop them off there and they could sit there and after half an hour they can say “right we’ve had enough of this”... It’s not good. You want children to be taking responsibility for themselves and having a degree of freedom within their local environment, but within that context, also being safe.’

This limits children’s ability to choose activities for themselves, and helps reinforce adult attitudes of when, where and how children should play. Similarly, another interviewed Welsh local authority officer recounted a story of a play area introduced to a new development retrospectively:

‘to put in a play area, which is a lovely play area, behind houses that hadn’t bought their homes to have a play area to be put next to them... And the other choice was up the road to nowhere so when they build their next phase... But of course 7 years down the line they still haven’t built that next phase...’

This shows how play areas can be an afterthought for developers, and consequently limit the potential for children’s independent play. Moreover, an officer at the Children and Young People’s Commissioner for Scotland (CYPCS) commented in interview:

‘we still have situations where planners are allowed to create play spaces, for instance, in new built environments which are actually unbuildable on. So they can’t put a house there so they put a play space there, and it’s actually unplayable because of the same issues [such as flooding or inaccessibility] ...’

Figure 6.19 shows an example of a poorly-sited playground in a new residential development in the case study area. A car park surrounds this playground, which likely limits children’s independent access to it. However, if moved, playgrounds can become more appropriate, as detailed by a local authority officer in Wales:

‘we relocated two parks in sort of hotspots- targeted area hotspots- and we just literally moved one about 20 metres, an unused one- and just moving it that 20 metres it’s just rammed... all the time full... and then the [place] and then [place] was up a ravine- never used, flooded every time it rained because of course they get put it on the rubbish land! And we relocated it- packed!’

This illustrates how even in planning designated play space, which meets only some of children's spatial requirements, planning authorities are not necessarily informed, or equipped to ensure developers site them appropriately.



Figure 6.19 A playground in a new housing development adjacent to Stewart Terrace in Gorgie, Edinburgh

A further issue arises in the attitudes of, or assumed attitudes of, the general public in relation to children's use of space and their local area. Whilst local residents may complain to a developer or planning authority when they are unhappy with a planning situation, they are less likely to offer support for the way a place is planned. This means that when it comes to the building of new homes, housing developers may feel that creating play spaces will have a detrimental impact on the sale value of new homes. A local authority planner suggested in interview:

'Developers are looking to not create the kind of park area that that house won't sell, because nobody was going to buy that house next to where children are going to play ball games there. So they're designed around shareholders. They're not designed around making the sort of places that people want to live in... it has to be the authority that is encouraging them to do that as well and I'm not sure, again how within meeting their minimum requirements if they're meeting the rights of children. I shouldn't think that they are.'

However, Play Wales (interviewee) feels:

‘the flip of that is that it could actually mean that a lot of people are more likely to move there. A lot of people, we don't hear about those people enough that say ‘I moved here because it's a nice cul-de-sac and when we moved in I saw kids...’

This can lead to a cycle whereby planners do not require developers to consider children's use of space, developers know what has sold in the past (which did not include a consideration of child-friendliness), and therefore exclusion of children from space is perpetuated in new developments. With the planning system paying little attention to how children use space, there are few mechanisms to alter this approach, and developers and residents can see children's play as an unnecessary burden to developing housing sites.

Though playgrounds play some role in children's lives, most important for the planning system to recognise is that, when asked, children often do not cite playgrounds amongst their favourite places (Cunningham & Jones, 1999). Alternatively, they may enjoy the playgrounds that are provided, but not in the ways adults expect or condone. For instance:

‘just because there's a state of the art playground, you might find the children prefer to play in the old run-down one because dogs are allowed in and they can get in with their bikes. Yes, it might be covered in glass and needles, but that's where they'll go and hang out, and not where they are ‘supposed’ to play, or sign-posted to play.’

(Play Scotland interviewee)

Drawing on children's own views of playgrounds, Figure 6.20 shows some of the children's views of Saughton park playground. Whilst many express a liking for aspects of it, most of them had mixed views, and suggested improvements that often related to an opinion that it only suits younger children. Despite this, the City of Edinburgh Council (2011) considers this playground to be ‘very good’ in their ‘Play Area Action Plan’, and suitable for ‘Toddlers/Juniors/Seniors (City of Edinburgh Council, 2009, p. 58). This is an example of disconnect between how children view and use space, and what professional adults might wish or expect.

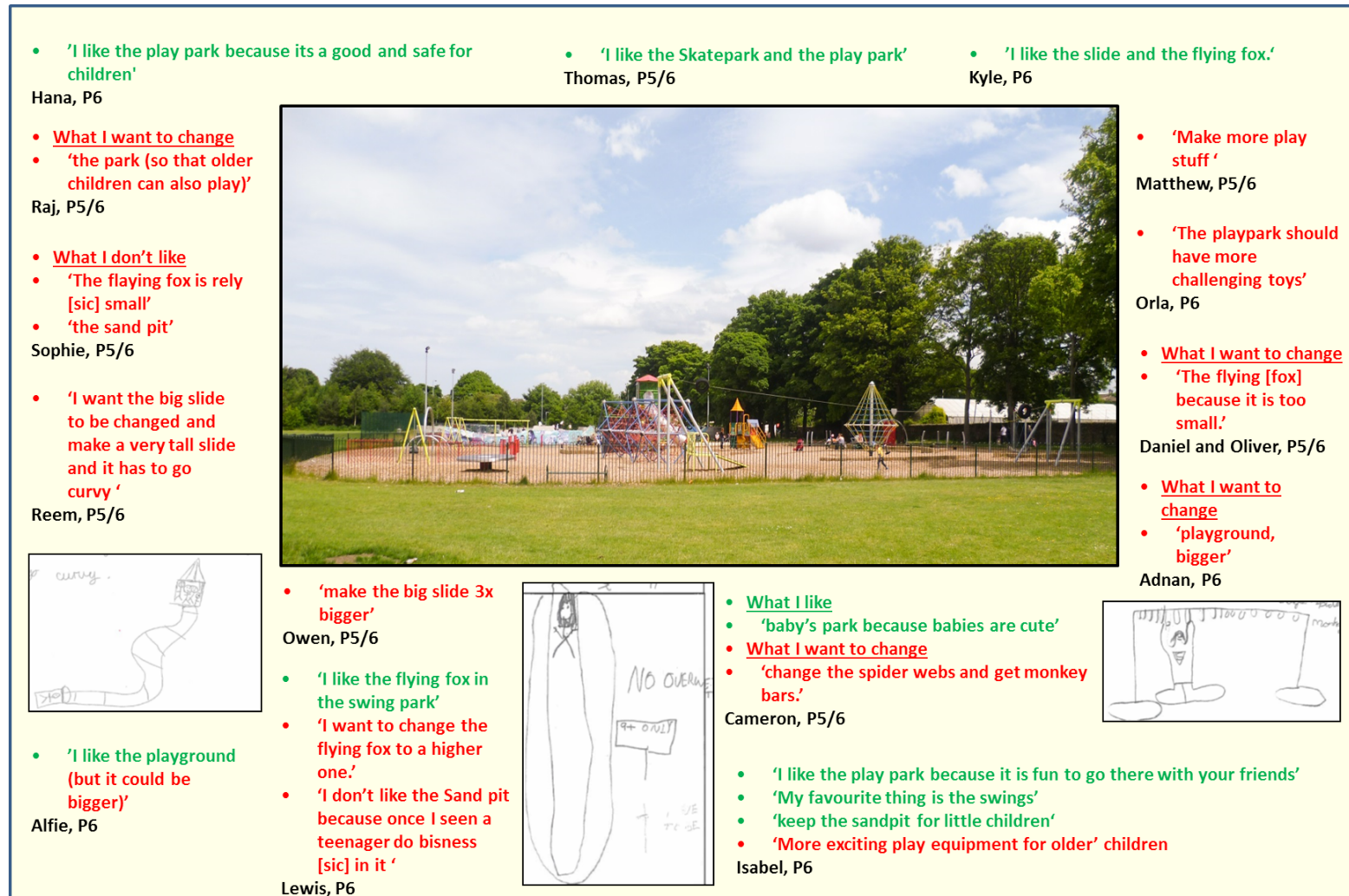


Figure 6.20 Children's varied views of Saughton Park Playground.

6.8.1 Planning approaches

Taking account of children's actual use of space, a case study interview from Russell & Lester (2013, p. 45) states that when assessing the play sufficiency of their local area, they found children often used the edges of designated space or valued left over space. Meanwhile, Long (2015) found the quantity of open space for play was more important than the quality of space to play in terms of children's satisfaction with their outdoor opportunities. This questions the way planners carry out open space assessments or prepare strategies. For instance, planners are used to dealing with formal land use allocation and therefore may not be able to acknowledge informal or intangible land use. This means the system cannot adequately protect them from non-child-friendly development. To illustrate, the interviewee at Play Scotland discusses a well-used site in Glasgow, now designated for high-end housing:

‘The problem is that if people buy these assets, and then over time they become run down, they are then seen as areas of blight and people are happy for them to be built on.’

Figure 6.21 shows a potential example of this from the case study area. The local authority has not designated this playground for redevelopment, or for improvement. However, its lack of use, general disrepair and proximity to new residential developments could, in planning terms, justify its redevelopment into a non-child centred space. This playground has been the subject of a petition from the local community to the Lord Provost and local councillors (Edinburgh Evening News, 2015), however the only notable change in the past year is that the equipment has been painted blue.



Figure 6.21 A neglected playground in Gorgie

Further evidence that planning strategies often do not involve consideration of children's use of space comes from a local authority officer in interview:

‘we do have a strategy that looks at where there's sufficient open space and play space, and where there's a shortage, and if there was a shortage we certainly wouldn't be allowing a developer to come along and build on that. If it's a very small space and we feel, “OK, well it's not of great value to people”, and that is invariably children and dog walkers, basically. Then we may allow it on the basis that we've identified a need for an upgrade and better uses for a park that's within a certain distance- a certain walking distance- and would allow something on that on the basis that they contribute to that.’

This suggests a misunderstanding of children's ability to always play elsewhere. Russell and Lester (2013, p. 47) find, in Wales, planning authorities are most likely to prioritise economic uses for ‘brownfield’ land. Meanwhile, a Play Scotland interviewee notes a growing consensus in Scotland, with the Community Empowerment Act (The Scottish Parliament, 2015) that communities can buy land to maintain it for uses such as play and informal recreation. However, communities may struggle to find funding for this. Indeed, Play Wales (interviewee) claims much of their interaction with the planning system is local communities contacting them for help in protecting the open spaces valued by children. Alternatively, local communities or elected representatives may be particularly in favour of new playground equipment on an open space, rather than leaving it empty

for children’s self-directed play, as this is considered ‘an aesthetically more acceptable solution’ (Russell & Lester, 2013, p. 47). Figure 6.22 shows examples of some open spaces and brownfield land in the case study area. These are potential places of play or walking routes, but their access is either ambiguous, or completely restricted. Planners may leave such land for amenity value, or until it is redeveloped, without considering the value it could have for communities in the interim or even long term.



Figure 6.22 Open space left vacant and inaccessible

As planners have a limited understanding of children’s play, they do not always site informal recreation areas to protect and provide for children, or consider it their responsibility. As a local authority officer in Scotland (interview) acknowledges:

‘some of those small spaces around housing estates are only basically used by children to kick a ball about, but that's a very valuable space and we do acknowledge that those kind of little spaces are important... but I think there's a lot of other aspects where it's either unknown or, you know, how much of a planning matter is it? It would be difficult to say what is and isn't... it's very grey [children's use of space and planning policy].’

This is wrapped up in dominant attitudes of children and play, with a variety of wider structural forces that do not prioritise children. Changing the landscapes of childhood thus involves changing the attitudes of planners and their approaches, which may help affect the freedoms and attitudes of others in positive ways.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed evidence of how a group of primary school children view their local area. Using Foucault's theory of heterotopia, it has helped to position the playful demeanour of children within the built environment, and elucidated how planning has often worked to establish spatially and temporally fixed heterotopias that appeal to a more ordered, adult understanding of play and leisure. Conversely, children have less need for an ordered and fixed environment, and can feel dominated when this is enforced upon them. Therefore, heterotopia suggests that planners should find ways to allow for a variety of experiences and perceptions of space, at any given time.

A planners' job is to create places of potential for children's positive experience, and make sure there are ways they can get there with limited adult intervention, but not to decide exactly where and how they should play:

‘Which is what play is really. It's just kicking against the traces of an adult designed world.’

Dr Stuart Lester (interview)

In cultivating heterotopia, the role of planner moves from regulator of space, to facilitator of places that tolerate difference and disorder. Adults can find order in disorder, whilst too ordered an environment can eliminate the potential for children to seek disorder in play (Ward, 1990; Jones, 2008). Planners should thus take greater care to consider children's real use and perceptions of place. This is difficult given the wider dominating interests of society, government and individual planner's agendas, but raising their awareness of children's rights and the play-potential of all space could start to push children's spatial needs higher on the agenda. The UNCRC is a strong

technology of power for doing this, allowing children and adults that know and understand its existence to exert power as advocates of children's interests (Davidoff, 2003). With the establishment of what children should expect from a planning system committed to their needs, the next chapter reviews the process of children's participation in planning decision-making.

Chapter Seven: Children and Process

The process of involving children in decision-making is an important element of a planning system that respects their rights. As participation in planning is increasingly common across the world, it has become the dominant way of how planning should be done (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000). This arguably explains why the planning authority officers I interviewed were quick to understand the role children should have in decision-making, without necessarily considering their responsibilities towards children's spatial experience. However, though planners in Scotland are increasingly aware of the value of children's participation, for the process to be rights-respecting, planners must also make the process meaningful. This means it should have clear outcomes for the children, as well as to the professionals fulfilling their role.

This chapter reviews the evidence of planning authorities in Scotland involving children in the process of plan-making, and evaluates the extent to which these fulfil the authentic participation element of Article 12 of the UNCRC. It does this by drawing on the evaluation framework brought together in chapter four (Figure 7.1). I begin by exploring the Scottish Government's approach, as they sit at the top of the power network in Scottish planning and therefore set much of the agenda. I then move on to discuss the approaches taken by officers in three local planning authorities. This focuses on the intentions of planners towards children's participation, the actions they take, and the resulting outcomes, to link a child's right to participate in process (Article 12), with their right to participate in everyday life (Article 31). Through comparing these experiences, I discuss how participation with children can be understood and improved, and the value of theory in bringing children into the planning process.

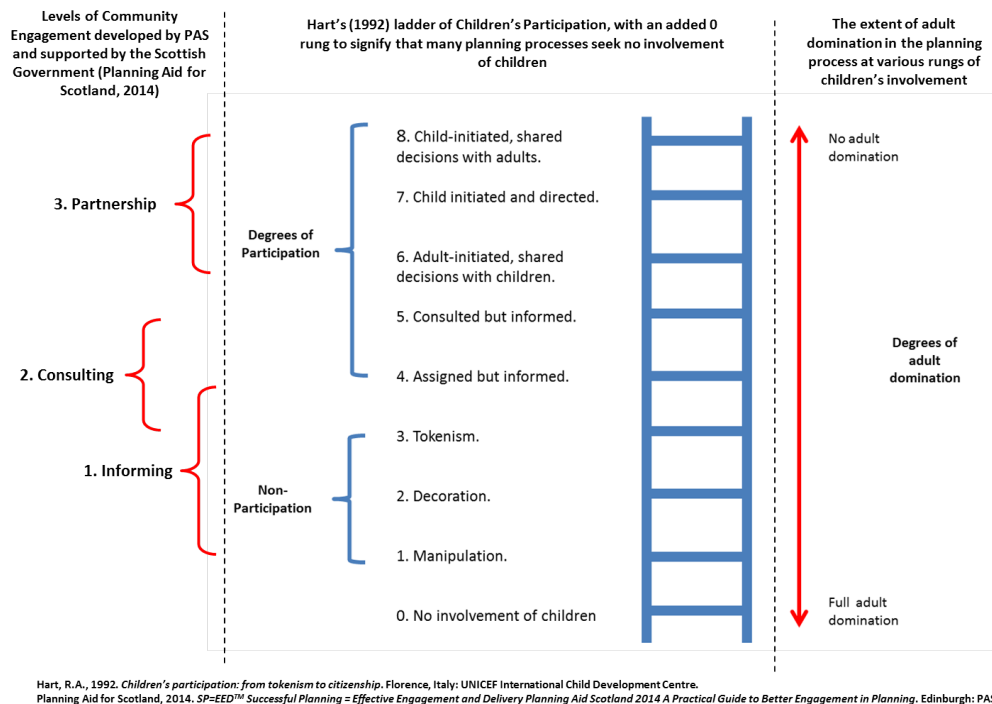


Figure 7.1 An evaluation framework for measuring the meaningfulness of children's participation in planning.

7.1 Formulation of the Scottish Government's national planning policy

The Scottish Government officer I interviewed was involved in the process of engagement for Third National Planning Framework (NPF3) and Scottish Planning Policy (SPP). They made it clear that children and young people's involvement was increasingly important to the national planning context, and framed this from the perspective that children are 'hard to reach':

'that particular audience may have had a different way of being able to engage. You know, children and young people would generally be in school in those working hours or even if we extended it into the early evening, they may not be in the local community centre or something like that.'

From the officer's perspective, the main reason for involving children is therefore their current exclusion from the process. Consequently, the Scottish Government hopes to set an example to planning authorities of what can be done, and in doing so, encourage others to take on the responsibility. I therefore assess the methods the Scottish Government undertook, as set out in relation to the commitments in their participation statement.

The participation statement for NPF3 states the Scottish Government will proactively engage with children by:

- ‘Considering the outputs of a Planning Aid for Scotland project on offshore renewables with primary and secondary school children and assess whether further engagement is necessary’; and
- ‘liaising with YoungScot on a survey of young people on their views on the strategic options.’
(Scottish Government, 2014c, p. 14)

Meanwhile, the participation statement for SPP lists only the YoungScot survey (mentioned above) in relation to the engagement of young people (Scottish Government, 2014d, p. 12). These two methods approach different age ranges, with PAS carrying out the Offshore Renewables IMBY™ project with one primary school, and the first two years of two secondary schools (combined in one session), and YoungScot targeting their survey at the 11-26 age category. These two methods reflect the Scottish Government’s focus on engaging through existing organisations:

‘we actually tried to engage the Scottish Youth Parliament as well, but we were less successful in doing that, whereas YoungScot seemed to want to - came on board and we funded them to do a co-designed survey.’

Officer, Scottish Government (interview)

In this sense, the reason for targeting the 11-26 age range was tied with the recognisable bodies in Scotland that help with, and promote the participation of children and young adults along formal channels. In Shier’s (2001) pathways to participation model, this signifies an opening (intention) becoming an opportunity (action) for children’s engagement. As an officer at the Children and Young People’s Commissioner in Scotland (CCYPS) discussed in interview, this means:

‘we’ve got government support for key organisations who will promote young people’s participation, very good organisations, like YoungScot and SYP [Scottish Youth Link], but we don’t have the same supported infrastructure for children and that’s something that really needs - we need to do something about’.

Indeed, whilst the Scottish Government commissioned PAS to help them engage with children between the ages of 10 and 14, younger age groups (who are more usually involved in PAS’s IMBY™) were excluded. Despite these concerns, I now turn to evaluating each project in turn.

7.1.1 IMBY™ Offshore

The IMBY™ offshore renewables project ran in 2013 to engage children in how offshore renewable technologies could meet Scotland's future energy needs. I worked on developing and delivering the project as a PAS intern; adapting a program that included some of the introductory features of PAS's (2015) standard IMBY program (exploring what is outside the classroom window, and thinking about changes over time) as well as devising exercises that introduce participants to the types of renewable energy technology in use now, and those that may be in the future. The participants then took part in a hypothetical activity where they imagined they lived in a coastal town, soon to be close to a major offshore renewable energy development, and worked in groups to develop a town design that would include all the new developments required *onshore* to support the changes. This initiative presented three major problems for the meaningful participation of children:

1. The children attended inner-city schools and the hypothetical scenario had little in common with their everyday lives;
2. Neither the Scottish Government nor PAS communicated to the trainers or participants that their input would be used to develop NPF3; and
3. Staff and volunteers running the project were concerned with the amount of technical information required to set emerging renewable energies into a planning context.

For these reasons, the project reaches only rungs one and two of the evaluation model, informing participants only. The project helped add elements of children's involvement to the participation statement (Decoration), but had little relevance to the everyday lives of the children or the functions of the planning system. This suggests a high level of adult domination and a focus on *educating*, rather than facilitating the meaningful participation of the children (Manipulation). Indeed, the Scottish Government organised the exercise to 'assess whether further engagement is necessary' (Scottish Government, 2014c, p. 14), and as they did not initiate further engagement, they imply that, in their view, this level of participation was adequate.

7.1.2 YoungScot survey

The Scottish Government's survey for ages 11-26, conducted with YoungScot, yielded around 500 responses, with both organisations declaring it a success (Young Scot, 2013). By engaging a younger age group, the Scottish Government not only gathered responses about planning from a new demographic, but hoped to show how relatively large numbers of young people could get involved in consultations (interview with Scottish Government officer). Though the survey included young adults, Figure 7.2 show that the majority of participants were children. Moreover, the most

represented age groups were 12 and 13 year olds, and further detail from the report shows the majority of respondents were female, and the participation was particularly strong in certain geographic locations. What it does not show, however, is how different characteristics correlated with responses, or how these were used to formulate SPP and NPF3 (Young Scot, 2013). Also concerning is that a survey aiming to elicit the views of such a broad age group may not be an effective way to approach the competencies of the varying ages and characteristics of children.

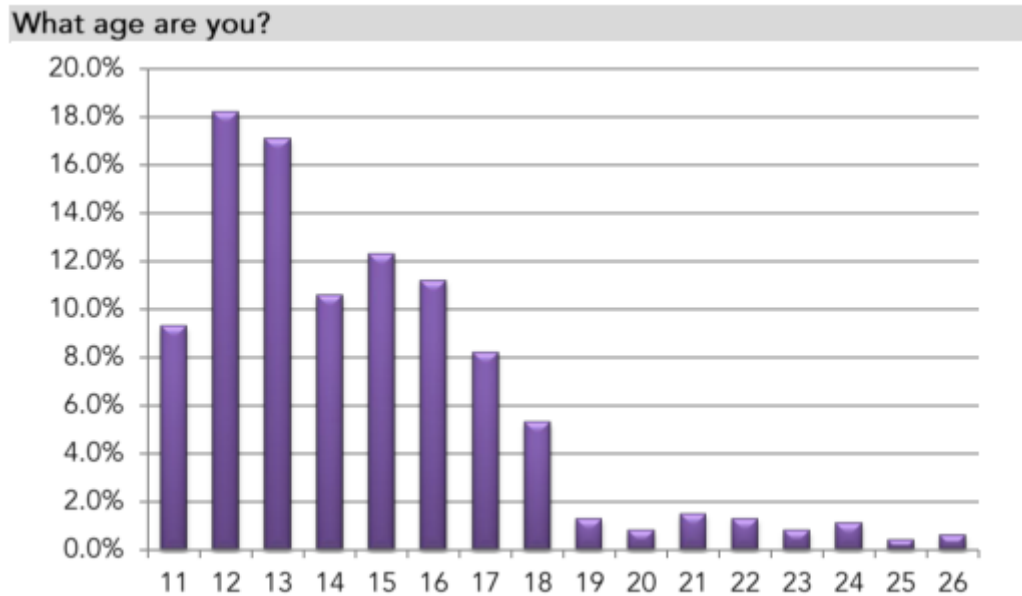


Figure 7.2 The age of people taking part in the Scottish Government's NPF3 and SPP Young Scot survey (Young Scot, 2013, p. 6)

The interviewed officer devised the questions for the survey, with YoungScot convening a session with young people to discuss the wording. This element of the survey achieves the rung of 'assigned but informed' on the evaluation model, as whilst the questions themselves had been formulated around specific themes, the participants were made aware of what their involvement was to be, and they helped reformulate the questions to those finally used. Following this, YoungScot hosted the survey on their website and promoted it amongst their members through social media and school visits. It asked 14 questions, with a focus on onshore wind farm development and transport, to reflect the questions in the main (adult) response form.

Confusingly, the purpose of asking many of the survey's questions is unclear, and there is extensive overlap between topics. For instance:

‘What THREE things do you want from Scotland in the future?’

- Place (better places to live, go to school and work)
- Economy (improved job opportunities)
- Health (healthier lifestyles)

- Environment (High quality outdoor places and spaces)
- Connections (Better connections between places and people- such as transport links)
- Development (Responding to climate change- such as reducing our carbon footprint)

(Young Scot, 2013, p. 8)

And

‘Choose ONE thing you think would make Scotland a better place in the future

- Provide more walking/ cycling routes
- Improve public transport connections e.g. buses
- Improve phone and broadband connections
- Protect our natural environment
- Create places that improve health and wellbeing
- Provide for better quality towns and cities’

(Young Scot, 2013, p. 9)

This closed style of questioning is likely due to the formal nature of commenting on a Main Issues Report. However, it leaves little room for the respondents to suggest that all, none, or some of these themes were important to them. Indeed, no young people were engaged prior to the Main Issues Report stage of NPF3 and SPP, and therefore the topics they were permitted to comment on are restricted to what the Scottish Government already deemed a priority. This, along with no formal response on how the survey results informed their policy revisions, renders the extent to which the younger people’s views have been valued uncertain. Consequently, this involvement reaches only the non-participatory rung of ‘tokenistic’ on the evaluation model, and informs participants of the Scottish Government’s views, but does little to consider theirs. This action, whether intentional or not, displays the dominance of adults, with great access to technologies of power, over young individuals who appear to gain little from the exercise.

7.2 The City of Edinburgh Council’s Local Development Plan Consultation

The officer at the City of Edinburgh Council I interviewed was involved with co-ordinating and running community engagement activities for the new local development plan. They admitted that they did little to elicit direct participation from children. However, they began their local development planning process by talking to the local youth forum:

‘it was letting them know that they could comment, but not sitting down and getting them to actually fill in a comments form.’

The other relevant engagement activity the department undertook was a secondary school session to discuss potential changes to the city's main shopping street. The officer noted:

'we didn't actually ask the schools that we went into to actually fill in the form'

This shows that the planners in the department *did* think about children and young people's views, but did not critically consider the best channels, or the likelihood of children becoming involved through the existing processes.

Examining the officer's approach to children's participation further, it becomes clear they see the value of engaging younger people was to educate them in how planning works, and thus increase their awareness now and in the future that they could get involved. Reliving their information session with teenagers, the officer stated in interview:

'I said, "you know that people like you, as you move forward living in this city, there's always this document here and you need to go in and pull it apart."'

The interviewee also talked about the reality of community participation in planning, describing how most people do not get involved until they are aware of an objectionable development nearby them. However:

'if we just did a lot, lot more in schools to make people aware when they're that age, then we would have that growing population that had that awareness and that background for when they do need to get involved and there's something impacting directly on them, and it may help a bit more with strategic planning as well- that they realise the impact.'

Officer, City of Edinburgh Council (interview)

This suggests that the planner frames the participation of children through the potential it has for their futures, and for future, positive engagement with the profession. They were also confident, throughout the interview, that getting teenagers to fill out representation forms was the best way to incorporate their views in the process. While sincere, this reflects the dominant norm of viewing children as human becomings, and implies the need for them to change and transform themselves in order to be involved meaningfully in the system (Cruikshank, 1999). Through this frame, the officer was justified in expecting those they spoke to complete a formal representation form if they wished the council to take their views into account. However, they did not achieve participatory rungs on the evaluation model, and only informed a select group of children.

7.3 South Lanarkshire Council- Local Plan to Local Development Plan

An officer at South Lanarkshire Council planning department stated many reasons for beginning to engage with children. The main reason was:

‘we were fed up with what we would refer to as the serial objectors... what we felt was that when we were engaging with communities, we were getting them to come back and give us their opinion, but we don’t really think their opinion gives us the full story... we thought we better get a wider picture of what communities feel.’

Officer, South Lanarkshire Council (interview)

This was part of a wider programme of engagement, considering a number of excluded groups and new methods of participation. For instance:

‘we ended up engaging with young people, with people with disabilities and with seniors, which gave us a much bigger picture... And we also went out to supermarkets with opinion metres and stuff, just to get a wider range of the population’

Officer, South Lanarkshire Council (interview)

By including previously excluded groups in the decision-making process, the planning officers felt more confident that their plan was inclusive of the range of issues that affect people in their locality. This signifies elements of collaborative planning, and communicative planning theory’s ideals (Forester, 1989; Healey, 1997).

Children’s exclusion from the planning process was not the only reason the officer gave in interview for choosing to involve them. They also recognised the value it could have for their own professional practice and for the lives of young people:

‘the young people are our adults of tomorrow so anything we do that will affect their future- obviously they’re interested in- and if you think about how long the development plan process takes... If we engage with young people in 2011 and those young people are say maybe 17 or 18, you add that on to now you’re talking 22, 23. And a lot of the cases they’re now finished doing whatever they did- education, apprenticeships, working. A lot of cases they’re getting married; a lot of cases they’re maybe looking for a house; they may be looking for a job; they’re doing shopping; they’re maybe looking for a nursery place for their kids... so anything they can do to say influence stuff from 5 years ago has got to be good, and if that can continue we can build up and build up a better understanding, and a better picture of what our communities actually need, and that makes a huge difference as well.’

Importantly, the officer has begun to see this happening over the course of their 10 years engaging:

‘a lot of the people that did stuff for us 10, 11 years ago have now got their own flats and whatever, and you look and say to them and they remember actually doing the, the

exercises and stuff with us... so every couple of years we've got these kids that have engaged and then they know, they also know what we're talking about which makes a huge difference.'

This is a clear indication of the institutional change and continual reflection that Healey (1997) advocates for. Through this, greater inclusion and better plans are increasingly likely, and the younger people's participation can lead to changes in how planning is done, outcomes that can benefit them, as well as helping planners engage with the same people in the future. This building of trust can help create a planning system that understands people in the area, and where local residents recognise the potential influence of their views. It could further help develop common frames of reference, and cultural understanding that, with continuous evaluation, allows the planning system to adapt and show the flexibility needed to deal with increasingly wicked issues (Healey, 1998, 2012; Innes & Booher, 2010).

7.3.1 Cognitive mapping with teenagers

The realisation that the planning authority could begin involving children and young people developed at South Lanarkshire Council in 2004, when planners in the department remembered a participatory mapping method they had read about at university. This 'cognitive mapping' approach was pioneered by human geographers and urban designers in the 1960s (Gaddis, 2005). The interviewed officer realised much of this work had been carried out with children, and linking with Lynch's (1977) approach in the 'Growing Up in Cities Project', they decided this could be a way to elicit the opinions of a younger audience. From having read the literature, and chosen a particular method, the planners were informed that they could successfully use participatory mapping with children across age ranges. The officers at South Lanarkshire Council piloted the method in a secondary school, and when this proved successful, tried a primary school. From these initial engagements, the planners developed a wider range of methods, and reached all schools in the local authority area. This is an example of planning theory and education influencing practice (Davoudi & Pendlebury, 2010).

Figure 7.3 shows some of the outputs of the cognitive mapping exercises conducted by South Lanarkshire Council planners in 2004 and 2005, where they eventually reached all secondary schools in the area (collecting 140 maps). The officer commented in interview:

'the kids were actually able to, in their mind, work out different things that we would never have thought about before. So we got them to do all this stuff you know, and they've got things like housing and grass and roads, they even did keys.'

The exercise took 2-3 hours and involved participants drawing full-colour maps of where they live either individually or in pairs, with the leading planning officer determining that groups of 20 students at a time worked best (Gaddis, 2005). The planners particularly requested children draw what is important to them, and how they get to various places such as school, bus routes and walkways. These maps were:

‘analysed and summarised and particular issues mapped on a local plan. The issues raised [were] assessed against open space policy, transport policies and also with the anti-social behaviour unit to tackle problems such as vandalism. In addition, a selection of the maps [were] scanned and photographed and a CD [was] produced for the finalised South Lanarkshire Local Plan.’ (Gaddis, 2005, p. 130).

This commitment links with the view of the interviewed officer that there is no point gathering information if they do not use it in whatever way they can.

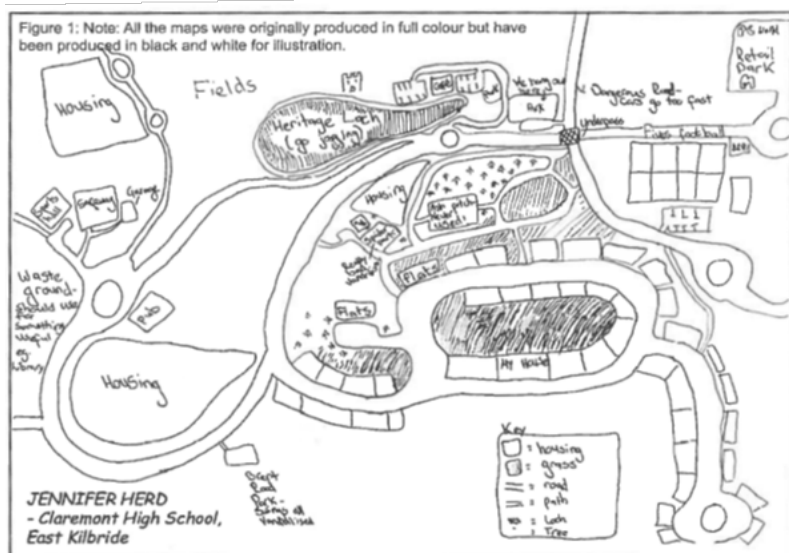


Figure 7.3 Cognitive maps produced by students working with South Lanarkshire Council (Gaddis 2005, p. 131)

McNally (2007) was involved in conducting these exercises as an intern, and reflects in his undergraduate dissertation that whilst some participants found it difficult to express themselves in the maps, they were able to use the exercise to communicate verbally their thoughts and feelings to the planners in the classroom. He is enthusiastic about the quality of the exercise, stating it provides a promising way to translate the ideas and views of a younger audience into the work of a local planning authority. On reflection with the pilot high school, he reports that most of the participants reported enjoying the process, but the majority did not feel they got feedback on how the maps were used, nor were they sure that the council planners had considered the issues within their map. This suggests the method was valuable for both participants and the planning authority, but whilst the planning authority attempted to communicate the outcomes of the project, they did not fully succeed. This participation exercise thus falls on rung 5 of the evaluation model. It consults with the young people around the important issues in their local area, but it dictates the format of the participation, and it does not involve their partnership in the decision-making process. However, unlike the Scottish Government and the City of Edinburgh Council, they reduced adult domination in the process, and have reached levels of meaningful consultation by picking an appropriate method, and considering the value of the teenager's participation critically. If participants were aware of, and involved in further decisions using their information, the method might reach rung 6, but the restrictions of the formal planning system may make this difficult for any planning authority to achieve.

7.3.2 Cognitive Mapping with Primary Schools

In engaging with primary schools, the planning authority took a different approach to the cognitive mapping method:

‘what we ended up doing was taking out a big map of their school in the centre and then got them to plot on where their houses were... They also all put on how they get to school and then discussing what they see going to school -what's good and what's bad. We did it the opposite way round where we drew the map for them but it was all based on their views.... there is no point going into primary one and two [age 4-7] and saying ‘can you draw me a cognitive map of where you live’, but if you go in with a map and ask them if they know where they live they can start drawing things on it, like trees and showing where the good parks are.’

(Interview with South Lanarkshire Council officer in Thompson's (2013) undergraduate dissertation, p. 66)

By adapting the method, they engaged with the primary school children in a way more suited to their abilities. This shows an understanding of the differences amongst children and how this may

influence the ways they can have a meaningful say. They also recognised that to engage with the younger age group, they may need more time to do it well. This means the cognitive mapping with primary school children reached the same level of meaning as with teenagers, in rung 5 of the evaluation model, and a reduction in adult dominance of the planning process. However, unlike with the teenagers, there is no available information on how the participating children found the exercise, nor whether they understood its ultimate purpose.

7.3.3 Local Development Plan Engagement

With their success at getting younger people involved in their 2008 Local Plan, the officers at South Lanarkshire council were keen to elicit the participation of children in the new Local Development Plan in 2011. Table 7.1 details the extended range of methods the planners used in their second round of engagement. In particular, the planners organised a ‘young people’s conference’ in the council building during their pre main issues report (Pre-MIR) stage of consultation to carry out most of the engagement. This involved 43 participants from 17 out of the 19 secondary schools in South Lanarkshire, and ‘The pupils ranged in age and year group including some children with additional support needs’ (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012, p. 3).

Table 7.1 The methods used by South Lanarkshire Council to elicit the views of young people in their pre-MIR engagement. Columns coloured yellow show those used during the young people's conference, whilst the green column shows a method used independently.

South Lanarkshire Council		Main function	
Name of exercise	Description	Educational	Participatory
Local Plan Ladies Video	A video produced by two local teenagers introduces the participants to the idea of a local development plan, and why the council is interested in their views	✓	
Cognitive Mapping	Participants work in small groups or individually to produce a map of their local area, based on their own perceptions and views.		✓
Voting on Issues	Participants vote on issues to do with housing, environment, industry, retail, community and renewable energy in south Lanarkshire, to gauge the feeling amongst people in the room.		✓
VOXOR Unit	Participants are invited to a video booth where they can record their answers to three questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you like about where you live? • What do you not like?; and • What would you change? 		✓

	These are kept confidentially by the planning authority.		
Standpoint Surveys	Participants of all ages can complete a survey pre-loaded onto a freestanding machine stationed in various locations around the local authority area.		✓

To begin the conference:

‘we used a video¹. We actually got two of the young boys who were in one of the secondary schools to write and star in their own video, which was them dressed up as two old ladies standing over a back fence talking about planning.... they loved it because they thought it was hysterical.’

South Lanarkshire Council Officer (interview)

This video introduced participants to the concept of a local development plan, and why people may be interested in getting involved (South Lanarkshire Council, 2011). By spoofing old ladies and making the video area-specific, the pupils were more likely to be interested in the process, and understand why the planning authority wished to hear their views on development in the area. Subsequently, participants completed ‘a series of tasks aimed at getting views on a variety of topics including housing, environment, industry, retail, community and renewable energy’, covered by the methods in Table 7.1 (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012, p. 3). The interviewed officer described making these methods accessible by modelling the voting system on the TV show ‘Who wants to be a millionaire?’, and describing the VOXOR unit as ‘like the Big Brother chair’:

‘it was basically a chair and a camera and they could tell us anything. So what we decided to do with that was we kept that- some of them are hilarious- so funny! But we didn't make that public because we thought that was a bit unfair.’

They set this unit up in a separate room to the main conference, so that participants could drop in and use it when they liked, uninterrupted, and the voice used for the questions was one of the actors from the ‘local plan ladies’ video. These measures were aimed at helping the students feel relaxed about giving their views. The novelty of the method made it universally popular, but the officer noted it was particularly good for some of the disabled students who struggled with written communication.

The full day conference displays the planning team’s thought and effort of how best to engage with as broad a group of teenagers as possible. The results of this consultation are detailed in their engagement and consultation report (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012), giving a full run down of the comments the planners gleaned from the various exercises. One pitfall of their conference

¹ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SDNVzgcJDOE>

approach, however, is that the type of pupil attending was not under their control, and overall a small proportion of students were involved. Despite this, the approach is clearly time and cost-effective in the context of a wide engagement process with limited resources, and allowed the planners to remove participants from the more regimented and educationally-focused environment of the school.

As part of their wider engagement strategy, South Lanarkshire planning authority also located 'Stand Point Surveys' across the local authority area between August and September 2011 (Figure 7.4). In total, 1231 people responded to these, of which 13% were aged below 18. These questions were aligned with those voted on at the young people's conference, so they could draw comparisons across the participants (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012). The council's consultation and engagement report (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012) details the survey responses, and shows a wide variety of opinions, many of which gave specific detail, and were able to guide the planning authority on a cross-section of community feeling in the local area. The local authority officer (interview) also felt the location of many of these devices in supermarkets, and the novelty of the technology led to a reasonably high engagement from children as they shopped with their parents. Whilst there is no available data on how the children responded in particular, or their breakdown of age within this category, the method appears innovative in gauging the opinion of many different age groups.



Figure 7.4 South Lanarkshire's Standpoint Survey Machine (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012, p. 7)

7.3.3.1 Feeding back

Following their pre-MIR engagement, the planning team re-engaged with their young participants:

‘when we produced our main issues report and our local plan that was sent out to all the groups to ask them if they want to make further comments on it. And we went and presented stuff to different groups.’

In this reengagement:

‘we said to them “this is what we think are your issues, that this is the list we think you have. Is that correct?”’

Officer, South Lanarkshire Council (interview)

From this, the team gained more detailed insights and understanding from their participants:

‘Some cases it was “yeah you've taken on board what we said”; “well that wasn't quite what we meant”; “what can you do about this?”; And in some cases we had to go back and say “well we can't do anything about it because it's not within our remit to do it” but in other cases we could go back and say “you're right we didn't think about that, we'll have another go and do it again.”’

Officer, South Lanarkshire Council (interview)

Another important element of this feedback was that:

‘what we agreed to do, was where planning could deal with it we dealt with it, but if it was something that another service in the council could deal with, we sent it to them.’

Officer, South Lanarkshire Council (interview)

The officer expressed in interview that when the local development plan had been completed (June 2015), the team would once again send copies to each secondary school and offer to speak to them in person.

7.3.4 Primary Schools

Though South Lanarkshire Council carried out good quality engagement with secondary school pupils, issues of time and resources affected the way planners engaged with younger children in their local development planning process. The planning authority visited only two primary schools, focusing on age 10-11, and whilst a photograph of the day is included in their consultation and engagement report (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012, p. 8), they do not give any detail or results from this day. On reflection of their strategy, the officer explained in interview:

‘What happened there was that the primary school that my son was at, at the time were doing a big project on sustainability and his teacher had said to me ‘have you got anything in your local plan about sustainability?’ I said “what we will do is that myself and the sustainability officer we will come out and we will do a session with your kids”’.

From this, they also engaged with one more primary school, using props such as balloons to explain carbon dioxide emissions, and a council-owned electric car:

‘So we linked it all into what the local plan could do and what the sustainability strategy could do but it was pretty much sort of a question and answer session with them basically because of the time constraints we only had about two hours so that’s not enough time for primary school kids.’

South Lanarkshire Officer (interview)

Whilst the lack of time made it difficult for the planning authority to simultaneously meet the teachers’ educational agendas and meaningful participation, it remains that the exercise was limited to informing participants.

7.4 Aberdeen City Council’s local development plan engagement

Aberdeen City Council engaged with teenagers in their planning process for the first time in 2011. They developed a ‘youth engagement programme’, targeting all secondary schools in the authority area (18), with eight participating in their first Pre-MIR round of engagement (400 pupils), and seven participating in their MIR engagement (350 pupils) (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a). Their primary reason for this was:

‘we looked at the data from the last consultation, [and] we did see that the age demographic from young people was a group that we haven’t got comments on, which is why we specifically decided to target that time around... Because they’re more likely to be marginalised, or not as actively involved as some of the other groups’

Officer, Aberdeen City Council (interview)

This means, the exclusion of children concerned the planners. However, the local authority officer also noted benefits for the future of community engagement in interview:

‘I think I remember reading in, in somewhere that if young people have been involved in the planning process once, they are more likely to kind of go “oh yeah, I’ve done that, I can think about it a little bit more”’.

As well as this, engaging young people could help engage parents:

‘you know, talk about it when they get home... “What did you do today?”...”Oh, that’s quite interesting”, and then Mum and Dad are maybe a little bit more clued up on it as well.’

Officer, Aberdeen City Council (interview)

Indeed, unlike the other planning authorities, the planners at Aberdeen City Council consciously framed their youth engagement programme around Article 12 of the UNCRC. This resulted from the interviewed officer (having already had the idea to engage younger age groups) attending a conference on the engagement of young people in 2012. This conference, organised by PAS, included an opening address from the Scottish Commissioner for Children and Young People:

‘he did a really good presentation there that- which went through kind of the rights of the child and the various articles’

Officer, Aberdeen City Council (interview)

With this, both their consultation report (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a) and Equalities and Human Rights Impact Assessment (Aberdeen City Council, 2014b) reflect a commitment to Article 12, and shows the influence that conversation, education and reflection can have on making the planning process more inclusive (Healey, 1997, 2003; Sandercock, 1998; Fischler, 2000; Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002)

To begin engaging children, the planners chose to target secondary schools:

‘because it was the first time we did it; we couldn't say ‘OK let’s go from nursery stage right up to university level’. We had to say ‘is this something that's gonna work?’ You know, ‘let’s trial it out and if it does work, well we'll improve on it next time and improve on it the time after that’. So we weren't necessarily as ambitious as I think, you know, some people might expect... for us actually that was quite a big thing, because there are so many secondary schools in the city, and maybe next time we know how to deal with secondary schools, so you know, we can try and develop our schools a bit more to primary schools.’

Officer, Aberdeen City Council (interview)

To do this, the team developed their own exercises, based on their requirements, research and experiences (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a).

7.4.1 Pre-MIR engagement

Aberdeen City Council’s first consultation on the plan preparation consisted of a general introduction presentation about why they were there and how they hoped to use the pupil’s views

and ideas. Table 7.2 shows the eight different exercises they subsequently facilitated, and of these, three were directly participatory, whilst the remaining had a more educational focus.

Table 7.2 The exercises conducted by Aberdeen City Council to engage young people during their Pre-MIR engagement activities (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a).

Aberdeen City Council's Pre-MIR engagement		Main function	
Name of exercise	Description	Educational	Participatory
<i>Planning Hierarchy</i>	Exploring the hierarchy of planning documents from national to local, as well as introducing the participants to Scotland's plan-led system.	✓	
<i>What Do Planners Do?</i>	A drama exercise that encourages participants to think about how planning works in practice and different people's opinions.	✓	
<i>Landmarks</i>	An orientation exercise where participants locate city landmarks on aerial maps, or use role play to construct a local landmark with their bodies.	✓	
<i>Map Exercise One: What do you like and dislike about your local area?</i>	Participants note down on maps, and paper, different features of the area that they like and dislike.		✓
<i>Perception Busting</i>	A facilitator reads out a number of 'facts', and participants move to different sides of the room depending on how much they believe it is true or false.	✓	
<i>Map Exercise 2: What should your area be like in the future?</i>	Participants use the 'Perception Busting', and first map exercises to note down what they think the city should be like in 2035.		✓
<i>Public Meeting</i>	Participants consider alternative views and make their own decisions by role-playing a mock committee hearing on a planning application.	✓	
<i>Placecheck: City Centre Character Areas</i>	Placecheck is a tool used to look at places and think how to make them better. Participants work in groups to carry out the Placecheck on different areas of the city (Urban Design Skills, 2012).		✓

The first of the participatory exercises was completed by most of the groups visited by the council (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a). Describing their experience of the activity, the officer (interview) states:

‘everyone was sat at groups on a table and it's amazing if you just put down an aerial image of an area... they say “there's my house, oh where do you live?”... before you’ve even given instructions... the discussions are already starting and we just plonked ourselves at a table and just listened.’

The officers also used this exercise with adult participants:

'we decided that it was ridiculous for us to come up with a whole different consultation strategy to what we were already doing because why should we consult young people in a different way to the general public?... Maybe we just thought about what terminology we were using and, you know, maybe explained things, or asked the teacher to say something in a class before- to maybe talk about urban geography'

Aberdeen City Council Officer (interview)

Following the first, most participants completed the second mapping exercise, explaining their vision for Aberdeen in 2035. Figure 7.5 shows an example of one of these completed exercises, with full details of the participants' responses in their engagement report (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a). This also details the views expressed in, and across each school, showing how their views directly influenced the MIR, particularly around presenting the city centre as a main issue. This ability to link process with outcome is promising and reflects similar attention to detail as displayed by South Lanarkshire Council.



Figure 7.5 An example of an output from the 'Aberdeen in 2035' exercise (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a, p. 13)

7.4.2 MIR Consultation

Influenced by the main themes of young people's pre-MIR responses, the planning team focused their second round of engagement on the city centre (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a). Table 7.3 shows the eight exercises they developed, which they carried out with different groups 'depending on the time available with the class, the age of the class, previous experience with our Youth Engagement Programme and the number of participants within each session' (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a, p. 17). Some of these replicated the previous round of consultation, but as described by the officer in interview:

'we were a lot more savvy this time as well. We prepared a PowerPoint presentation that was the same for every school that we went out to... and we kind of set out what the examples of main issues were and gave like a bundle of main issues reports to every school and let everyone know where everything could be found'

This suggests the development of institutional capacity for engagement across the short time frame (Healey, 1997). Indeed, this second round included more directly participatory exercises than the first, and gave the planning authority a broad view of the teenagers' suggestions for the city centre (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a). For instance, overall they suggested the boundary of the city centre should be open to change (Aberdeen City Council, 2014, p. 19).

Table 7.3 The methods used by Aberdeen City Council planning authority to gather the views of young people on the city centre (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a).

Aberdeen City Council's MIR Engagement		Main function	
Name of exercise	Description	Educational	Participatory
What Do Planners Do?	A drama exercise that encourages participants to think about how planning works in practice and different people's opinions.	✓	
What is a City Centre?	Participants think about what should be within a city centre boundary by identifying famous cities from their silhouettes, and thinking about who city centres are for and what their uses are.	✓	
Where is Aberdeen City Centre?	Drawing on the previous exercises, the participants locate landmarks on a map and then discuss and draw a boundary for the city centre.		✓
Map Exercise One: What do you like and dislike	Participants note down on maps and paper different features of the area that they like and dislike.		✓

about the city centre?			
Shopping in Aberdeen City Centre	Participants answer a number of questions about where they like to shop in the city, the types of shop they feel are missing, and what they like about shopping in other city centres.		✓
City Centre Accessibility	Participants mark on a map where they feel safe and unsafe in different scenarios such as when in school uniform or at night. Given particular scenarios, such as a person cycling or a disabled person, they then draw the route they would feel safest taking.		✓
The Beach	Participants note down what they would like to change about the beach.		✓
A Vision for the City in 2035	Participants note down thoughts and ideas of what the city centre should be like in 2035.		✓
Class Questionnaire	One school complete a questionnaire that mirrors many of the issues discussed in the workshops.		✓

7.4.2.1 Feeding Back

The planning authority used their young people's consultation report at each stage (Aberdeen City Council, 2014a) to feedback to the public, but also to show each school the headline findings, and how the information they gave was used. The way it breaks down, in each evaluation of the exercises, the main themes and differences between schools is potentially useful in helping the participants see their input. However, as acknowledged by the interviewed officer, whether the participants will read this report is uncertain. Indeed, at 42 pages in length, it is almost as long as the MIR itself. The officer picked this up in interview, stating:

‘the way we feedback results to young people is something that I'd like to work on. I don't know how I'm gonna do it because we need to write a report to put it to councillors to have it as part of the package... I mean do we go back to the schools, and speak to the same pupils in a class later on?... record a video summarising it and put it on YouTube and hope that it could be watched within a class one day or something? ... Yeah. I'd like to do something more than write a report and email it and hope somebody reads it.’

Whilst feedback from the participants is not available, it is clear that Aberdeen City Council planners undertook an extensive youth engagement programme, and developed a wide range of exercises to gather detailed information from secondary school pupils in their city.

7.5 The involvement of children in local development plan processes across Scotland

The City of Edinburgh Council's approach may not have involved meaningful participation of children. However, contrasting with the Scottish Government's approach, they do not make claims that they carried out engagement with children in their participation statement, and thus avoid the accusation of 'Decoration' on the evaluation model that the Scottish Government is charged with. Whilst the City of Edinburgh Council carried out some token engagement with teenagers, they held no engagement sessions with primary school children, and so they sit at rung 0, showing full adult domination of primary school children's views in their local development plan preparation.

Conversely, the level of engagement exhibited by South Lanarkshire Council in their most recent local development plan consultation is impressive. The momentum and history of engaging with local secondary schools has allowed the planning authority to build trust and understanding, so that neither the planners nor schools appear to consider the process onerous. The planner leading the engagement over the last ten years, with a sustained interaction, cultivates much of this goodwill, interest in young people, and continuity in the team that other planning authorities have not yet built. This shows the building of institutional capacity that Healey (1998) encourages, and the planners devised exercises by building from previous experience, and introduced innovative new approaches. On the evaluation framework, the young people's conference, combined with the standpoint surveys reaches the 'Consulted but informed' element of Hart's (1992) ladder, and the highest level of consultation under PAS's guidance (Planning Aid for Scotland, 2014). The level of adult domination was deliberately limited by finding approaches that would suit a range of people and make the day accessible to all. This strongly considered how young people communicate, to make the process meaningful (Hart, 1992; Healey, 2003). The main pitfall was therefore that the officer (interview) expressed a tendency for participating schools to send their most favoured pupils, rather than a mixture of different students that may be more representative of the demographic's views as a whole.

In contrast to their most recent engagement with teenagers, South Lanarkshire Council cannot claim to have carried out meaningful participation with children under 12. The two sessions they

held in primary schools did not impact their LDP, and thus do not reach above the non-participation rungs on Hart's (1992) ladder, with the planning authority prioritising teenagers. For this reason they do not include their contact with primary school children in their consultation report, but do use an image as a decoration (South Lanarkshire Council, 2012, p. 8). This deliberate omission does, however, show the planning authority reflecting on their engagement and only including activities they can state influenced the process. This draws both on participatory planning theories and Foucault's commitment to reflecting on power and domination (Healey, 1997, 2012; Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002). It is also indicative of the limited resourcing of planning departments in Scotland that may limit the amount of meaningful engagement they can commit to in current circumstances.

In a similar vein to South Lanarkshire Council's engagements, Aberdeen City Council's efforts included broad engagement pre-MIR that could be evaluated at reaching rung 5 on Hart's (1992) ladder. However, the decision by the planning authority to focus on the city centre in the second round of consultations arguably moves the consultation down to rung 4 - 'Assigned but informed'. In this situation, the planners assigned the students to focus on the city centre, and informed them of the reason. Whilst this is a drop on the rungs of the ladder, it is not a bad thing, especially as the planning authority considered the results of gathering teenagers' views in reaching this decision. This allowed them to gather a greater amount of detailed information on a main issue universal to pupils studying in the city. However, like the City of Edinburgh Council and the Scottish Government, they did not involve primary school children in any participatory activities. In addition, unlike South Lanarkshire Council, they did not feed the non-planning related information they gathered to other local authority departments to make the process more meaningful (interview with Aberdeen City Council officer).

Figure 7.6 shows the combined extent of teenager's participation in the planning authorities explored in this chapter. It shows rung 5 is the highest to be reached, achieved by both Aberdeen City Council and South Lanarkshire Council. It shows local planning authorities can carry out good quality consultation with teenagers. However, making the step between 'informing' and 'consulting' is more resource intensive, and appears to require individuals to take the initiative upon themselves.

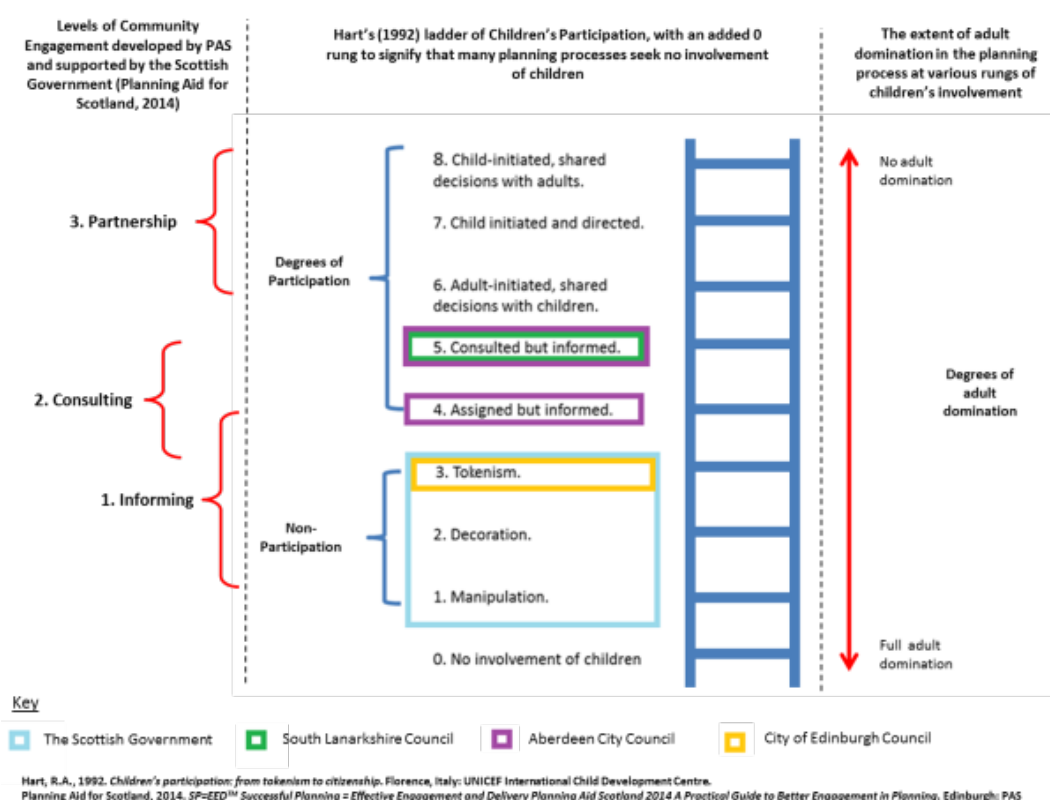


Figure 7.6 The level of involvement of people aged 12-18 in each planning authority

In contrast, Figure 7.7 shows the overall extent of the participation for children aged 12 and below. Whilst South Lanarkshire was able to achieve rung 5 of the ladder with their cognitive mapping exercise, they were only able to inform primary school children when they conducted their local development plan consultation. This means their engagement was 'tokenistic', but the interviewed officer recognised this, and consequently did not detail it in their consultation and engagement report (c.f South Lanarkshire Council 2012). The Scottish Government reached only the levels of non-participation in their reliance on PAS's offshore IMBY™ program, as PAS developed this educational programme primarily to inform primary and early secondary school age pupils about offshore renewables and their impacts. Consequently, this falls into 'decoration' and 'manipulation'. Meanwhile, neither The City of Edinburgh Council nor Aberdeen City Council engaged with primary school aged children in any way. Overall, this means the level of adult domination in the planning policy process is greater in the case of children aged 12 and below.

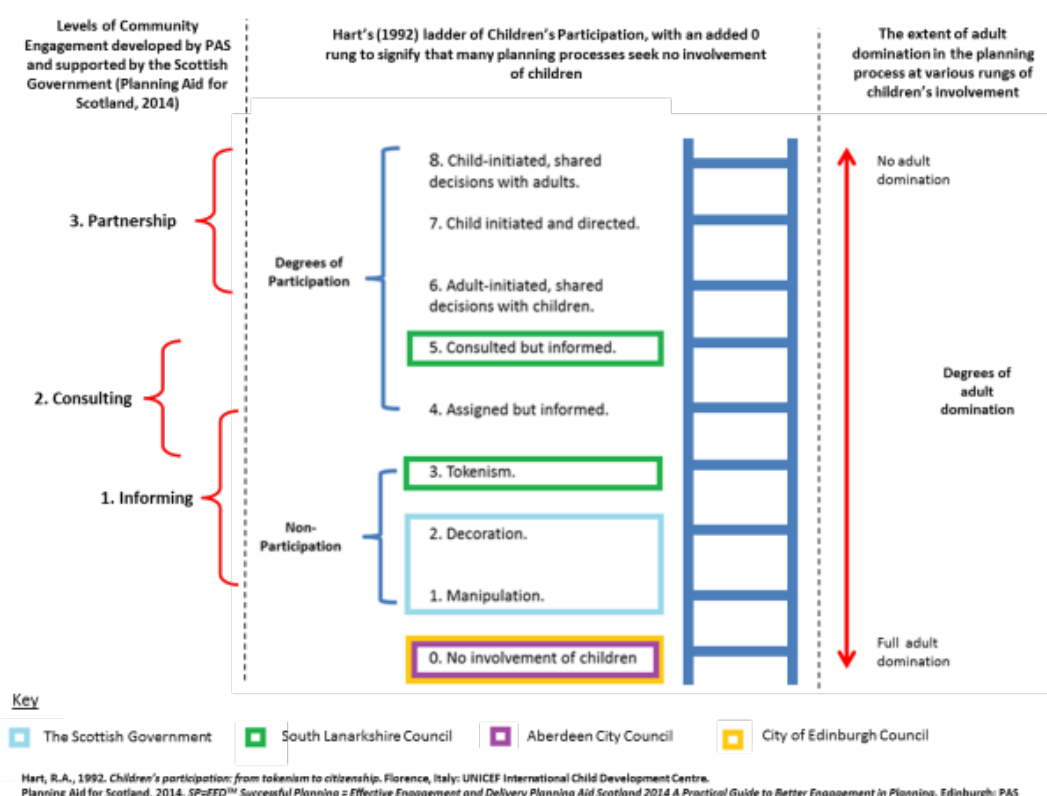


Figure 7.7 The level of involvement of children aged 12 and below in each planning authority

These findings suggest that dominant attitudes around younger children and their capabilities influence the extent to which planning authorities consider eliciting their opinions. This is combined with low statutory standards of community engagement; lack of guidance on engaging younger age groups; and resource constraints on planning authorities (see chapter three). In the case of the City of Edinburgh Council, the interviewed officer was focused on how children could engage by filling out a formal representation form, which represents the will of adults to empower children to reach the same capabilities as adults (Cruikshank, 1999). In contrast, the Aberdeen City Council officer was aware, before they began, of how expecting a teenager to fill in a representation form was both inappropriate and unlikely. Consequently, they developed their own, less formal, way to gain their input early in the process that was predicated on achieving Article 12 of the UNCRC. Similarly, the officer at South Lanarkshire Council recognised that early, targeted engagement with children was necessary to broaden the base of whose opinions influence, and get heard in policy formulation. Whilst they recognise the difficulties of involving younger children, the sensitivity with which they altered their cognitive mapping exercise suggests they have some recognition of the differing capabilities of children, and reacted to involve the children through meeting their existing capabilities, not willing them to change.

7.6 The transformational potential of children's participation in process

Reviewing the process of children's participation in planning authorities in Scotland shows that there are a variety of ways to involve children meaningfully in matters that affect them. However, it raises many challenges, and is not widespread practice across Scotland. Moreover, the focus of this thesis is the involvement of younger children, yet, it appears the process of involving teenagers may have transformative effects for planning authorities, leading to institutional change (Healey, 1998), and widening the potential for younger children's participation in the future. It is also testament to the difference that individuals can make in both their own work, and the work of their employers as a whole. For example, an officer at South Lanarkshire Council shows how having conducted engagement with children and young people over the course of ten years, they have built up good connections with pupils and schools, and have been able to develop their methods to make them more exciting and relevant to the participants. Additionally, an officer at Aberdeen City Council described how the process of involving teenagers became easier with practice, and so they developed more specific methods for the MIR consultation. Furthermore, since the interview, the officer reports attempting to engage with a primary school (personal communication). In Shier's (2001) pathways to participation model (see p.30-33), this shows both planning authorities developing their practice from an opening, to an opportunity, and on to a (self-enforced) obligation.

Neither the Scottish Government, nor the City of Edinburgh Council achieved the true participation of children in the planning processes. Despite this, interviewed officers report the personal gain of such experiences. For instance, in discussing their informatory session with a secondary school, an officer at the City of Edinburgh Council reports (interview):

'that really highlighted to me how much we really do need to be collecting their views. But all I could do was say what I heard. It would be far better to actually have some forms there saying "there's what we collected", and that's registered, and there's actual proof there for me. Whereas I just have to be believed on what they were saying, so... Next time round!'

Meanwhile, an officer at the Scottish Government comments about their involvement in the process (interview):

'when you actually sit there, and you read out a question which you think you've put in a language that's suitable for a teenager, and then they repeat it back to you... you just, you think "well no, actually I've not really hit the nail on the head here".'

This perception-changing aspect of involving teenagers in the project could be useful in itself, as it forces policy-makers to challenge traditional conceptions and assumptions.

Building on the value of experience, despite the City of Edinburgh Council's lack of engagement with children, the officer I interviewed did recognise the value of speaking with teenagers for fulfilling an advocacy role (Davidoff, 2003). For instance:

‘the input that we collected on that day I have used time and time again when discussing the changes on Princes Street and in other occasions when you're not actually getting the full gamut of views...’

They also reflected on a personal level that after volunteering on one of PAS's participatory projects, that young people are unlikely to fill out a representation form of their own volition, and so to make their views known in the formal way, they require direct assistance with the process. This suggests a beginning realisation of the dominance that planning processes can exert over younger people, and suggests institutional change within the planning department could develop in time (Healey, 1997). Indeed, it marks an ‘Opening’ in Shier's (2001) pathways to participation. In fact, both interviewees at the Scottish Government and the City of Edinburgh Council were keen to discuss with me how they could improve their approaches to involving children. In a similar way to informing planners about a child's right to participate in space (chapter six), discussing a child's right to participate in decision-making, led to a more general discussion of how to improve their practices. This suggests that time and conversation are powerful tools in bringing children's views into consideration (Healey, 1997, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2010).

The effect of experience of participation and of time on the practices of planners evidences the effectiveness of Healey's (1997) collaborative planning. Whilst a Foucauldian view of participation can highlight the potentially dominating effects of participation, reflecting on the process of institutional change gives greater insight into how children can become more involved in the process in the future. It is clear that dominating views of children and childhood can influence the extent to which planners elicit their views in plan-making. However, planners are unlikely to change their attitudes without direct experience. South Lanarkshire Council has successfully engaged with primary school children because the leading officer was aware of how to approach them and the value of their participation. Conversely, officers at the City of Edinburgh Council and the Scottish Government had not had experience engaging with children at the stage of plan preparation. This arguably led to more passive approaches such as only working with representative bodies. Yet, after making contact with teenagers themselves, each became more open to future possibilities. Meanwhile, officers at Aberdeen City Council had some direct experience of engaging with teenagers, which made their wide youth engagement programme feel achievable. Nonetheless, the prospect of engaging with primary school children remained an unknown, and left the interviewed officer unsure of whether it was possible.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the current extent of children's participation in the planning process in Scotland. Whilst I cannot claim this is exhaustive of what every planning authority in Scotland has achieved, these purposively picked examples highlight what the Scottish Government has done themselves, and what they have commended for innovative engagement with children in the past. This shows that the participation of children in the process is not common place, and even less common is the participation of children under the age of 12. The Scottish Government's approach in their national policy formulation lacked attention to how children of different ages express themselves, what they might want from planning in the future, and outcomes for the participants. Meanwhile, the three local planning authorities showed different levels of commitment to children's participation, but this was overwhelmingly focused on teenagers rather than primary school children, and did not all include clear participatory elements. What the chapter does suggest, however, is that there is great value for planners in trying to engage with younger age groups, with evidence that it can inform their view and understanding of the capabilities of children; challenge their current mode of thinking; and open opportunities in the future for more inclusive and meaningful engagement.

Following governmentality's logic that the domination of children should be limited, and Healey's (1997) logic that institutional change arises with experience; time; and critical reflection, suggests that ultimately, viewing children's participation in process through both lenses has the greatest potential for evolving practice. Collaborative planning encourages planners to widen their engagement and try new things, whilst governmentality aids in the reflection of what can and cannot be achieved, and whose interests are being served, as well as emphasising the potential tyrannical effect of the will to empower (Cruikshank, 1999). Therefore, whilst trialling children's participation in a non-critical way can have useful effects for transforming practice over time, finding ways to increase the meaningfulness of children's participation from the outset will decrease instances where the planning system does not respect children's rights. This requires training and support for children's participation that stresses their abilities, rather than what they lack, whilst also allowing planning authorities to learn and innovate to transform their own practices overtime. I return to address such potential methods and approaches, particularly for the under 12 age group, in chapter nine. However, it is first important to explore current national policy, guidance and support for children's participation in planning, which I now turn to in chapter eight.

Chapter Eight: Children and Policy

Policy for children and policy for planning often exist in separate spheres of government. This can suggest planners have little responsibility towards facilitating children's rights, however the evidence reviewed and presented so far shows that children and planning are not mutually exclusive.

Chapters six and seven showed policy for children's participation needs to span both policies to encourage an appropriate level of participation in planning processes, and in producing places that meets their requirements. This could come from planning policy itself, but likely requires a co-operative approach between the many departments that affect children's participation in space.

This chapter reviews the current policy approach in Scotland to children's rights under Articles 12 and 31 of the UNCRC, in relation to the planning system. It begins by assessing how the Scottish Government approaches children in planning policy, how this is and is not supported in children's policy, and the policy and support available for community engagement with children in planning. The chapter finishes by pulling these threads together to suggest the areas where Scotland's approach may need to change to bring children more centrally into the work of planners.

8.1 Scottish Government policy

The main role of the Scottish Government in guiding the day to day work of planning authorities is through providing policy, and offering support in its implementation. NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) requires planning authorities to engage with communities. However, the majority of guidance and policy on community engagement is contained at a national level in SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b), and 'Planning Advice Note 3: community engagement' (PAN3) (Scottish Government, 2010a), for which chapter three laid out the minimum standards for community engagement in development plans, and different types of planning application (pages 48-50). Meanwhile, the majority of policy supporting children's use of space is contained in SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b), 'Planning Advice Note 65: Planning and Open Space' (PAN65) (Scottish Government, 2008c), and the architectural policies 'Creating Places' (Scottish Government, 2013a) and 'Designing Streets' (Scottish Government, 2010b). Other elements of Scottish and UK government policy are also intended to influence planning in varying ways, with many of these alluded to in planning policies. The following sections therefore review these documents, exploring in detail how planners may use and interpret them, and what this means for the realisation of children's participation rights.

8.2 Defining children in planning policy

Using critical discourse analysis to review how children are framed in Scottish planning policies, Wood (2015) identified a policy silence around children, and a policy myth that children are included in planning, whether or not they are explicitly consulted. This study was based on PAN3 and draft versions of SPP and NPF3, which have now been finalised and are used in practice. From reviewing these finalised documents, though they strongly emphasise the principles and importance of design-led ‘placemaking’ and inclusive communities, it is clear that children still lack attention at this national level. For instance, in promoting community engagement and planning for the needs of different people, it is important that policy-makers and practitioners are aware of different types of community. This means recognising both geographic communities, and communities of interest, particularly in relation to equalities characteristics specified in the Equality Act (The UK Government, 2010). PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) and PAN65 (Scottish Government, 2008a) are cognisant of these differences and emphasise the need to consider the needs of different groups. SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) also mentions this distinction, but gives examples of ‘the business community, sports or heritage groups’ (p. 71), rather than groups of characteristic. It does however, along with Designing Streets (Scottish Government, 2010b) and Creating Places (Scottish Government, 2013a), emphasise that places should respond and adapt to how different types of people use and perceive space. Meanwhile, NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2013b) refers often to community, but does not give a definition.

The lack of critical regard for the differences amongst people who share protected characteristics and those that do not, is arguably evident in the way planning authorities frame their Equalities Impact Assessments (EqIAs). For instance, though national policy emphasises the need to understand different types of people, they may regard communities of characteristic in homogenous ways, and make broad assumptions about their needs (explored in chapter six in relation to adults’ attitudes of children’s spatial needs in Edinburgh (190-191). Indeed, policy-makers are required by The Equality Act to assess the impact of proposed policy, but not to *start* with an approach to furthering equality (The UK Government, 2010). To illustrate, though NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) does not mention children, along with SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) it makes positive steps for children’s personal mobility and access to services, by commending an active travel and public transport focus for place. In spite of this, both documents link this policy to ‘decarbonising the economy’, rather than to social benefits, which suggests that benefits to children are incidental.

A further lack of awareness of children is evident in the EQIA issued for the national planning documents. When considering age, it presents information from a narrow range of sources, but recognises children as the age group proportionately most likely to live in the 15% most deprived

areas of the country (Scottish Government, 2013e). However, it concedes without critical reflection, that there is no negative effect from national planning policy on any protected characteristic, but that the Scottish Government's central purpose will benefit all groups. A similar approach feeds down into local policy, with The City of Edinburgh Council's Equalities and Human Rights Impact Assessment for its second proposed local development plan (City of Edinburgh Council, 2013, pp. 2–3) stating 'Economic growth and the supply of housing will have positive impact on younger people.' This aligns with national and local planning policy, but makes an overly simplistic link between economic growth and the wellbeing of young people that they do not support with evidence. This framing and assessment of policy shows a lack of understanding of the different perceptions and experiences children have of place, and conflates a lack of known evidence, with a lack of impact on children's lives.

The other overriding problem of the planning system in meeting children's needs is how it prioritises economic growth over all other considerations. This is evident with the NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a), focusing on economic matters and being the primary consideration in the development of strategic and local development plans. Meanwhile, non-statutory policies and guidance predominantly handle social and environmental considerations that are most likely to directly benefit children. This is a deliberate decision of the Scottish Government, as they believe sustainable economic growth can unfold other positive environmental, and social outcomes (Scottish Government, 2013b). However, if NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) and SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) see everything predominantly through an economic lens, then they potentially split people into those that are economically active and those that should be economically active. As children (generally) cannot be either, their needs may be silenced, and this could have consequences for children's ability to participate in everyday life through play and leisure (Wood, 2015).

To illustrate how open space can become disregarded, PAN65 (Scottish Government, 2008c, p. 1) states:

'Open spaces are important for our quality of life. They provide the setting for a wide range of social interactions and pursuits that support personal and community well-being...New areas of open space of enduring quality and value have, however, been the exception rather than the rule and existing spaces are under pressure not just from physical development but also from poor management and maintenance.'

Meanwhile, SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) and NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) are positive about protecting and enhancing the country's natural resources and promoting 'green infrastructure'. The planning system has two functions in relation to open space:

- protecting areas that are valuable and valued; and

- ensuring provision of appropriate quality in, or within easy reach of, new development.’ (Scottish Government, 2008c, p. 1)

This means that planning authorities are required to produce open space audits and strategies, and should categorise spaces by their use, and assess their quality. This should help them determine where maintenance needs to take place, and where development should and should not happen.

However, NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a, p. 8) states:

‘Most of Scotland’s vacant and derelict land lies in and around our cities, and particularly in west central Scotland. This presents a significant challenge, yet also an opportunity for investment. Planning has an important role to play in finding new and beneficial uses for previously used land including, in the right circumstances, ‘green’ end uses.’

This suggests that, whilst supportive of allowing vacant and derelict land to become open space, ‘green’ land uses require specific circumstances to make them a suitable option. Indeed, the uncertainty over valuing open space is reinforced by NPF3’s (Scottish Government, 2014a, p. 46) later statement that:

‘Temporary uses for vacant and derelict land, for example for community growing or supporting biodiversity, can also help to attract investment in specific sites or wider areas. Whilst re-use of vacant land remains a priority, in some cases greening initiatives could be the best permanent solutions for sites where built development is unrealistic for cost or other reasons.’

Ultimately, this suggests a strong bias towards direct economic uses of land, and instrumentalising temporary uses for attracting wider economic investment. This means that community activities are a positive feature of environments in the short term, but unlikely to be a long term solution when assessed through planning policy.

Supporting the economic focus for space, SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) states ‘Planning should direct the right development to the right place’, and as part of this strategy, should focus on compact, higher density development, prioritise brownfield development over greenfield development, and consider:

‘whether the permanent, temporary or advanced greening of all or some of a site could make a valuable contribution to green and open space networks, particularly where it is unlikely to be developed for some time, or is unsuitable for development due to its location or viability issues’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 13)

Though densification and temporary uses for sites can have positive impacts on children’s ability to travel, and to participate in outdoor leisure in the short term, in the long term densification can erode the opportunities for children’s independent exploration and play as the quantity of open

space may decline (Björklid & Nordström, 2007). Additionally, SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) gives greater focus to the role of local and strategic development plans in identifying viable business sites, than it does for areas of community use. Meanwhile, economic considerations are important in providing ‘Green Infrastructure’, and as a key instrument in considering open space in planning.

PAN65 states:

‘The open space needs and desire of the local community must be established. Attention should be paid to the aspirations of all communities and interests, including ethnic minorities and vulnerable groups, women, children, older people and those with disabilities.’ (Scottish Government, 2008c, p. 11)

However:

‘In some cases, it may be better value to promote a consolidated high quality network of open spaces, rather than a more extensive pattern of spaces where management and maintenance of many areas are neglected.’ (Scottish Government, 2008c, p. 13)

Whilst this may make economic sense for the local authority, as a Play Scotland interviewee noted, it can ignore the value of small pockets of open space, and Long’s (2015) study showed the satisfaction children have with their outdoor play opportunities is more dependent on quantity, rather than quality of available space. Most strikingly, this is also at odds with the Scottish Government’s social policy aims for children’s play.

8.3 Children’s play policy

The Scottish Government supports children’s play through their ‘health and wellbeing’ social policy agenda, particularly through a national play strategy (Scottish Government, 2013a,d), and focus on the earliest years of a child’s life (Scottish Government, 2015b). Within this, they link health and wellbeing with planning through SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) and NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a), by encouraging a design-led approach to placemaking and links with the first outcome of planning, to create: ‘A successful, sustainable place’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 6). However, they do not currently have a coordinated strategy to link planning (predominantly economic) and play policy (predominantly social) directly. Therefore, examining where and how links between the Scottish Government’s children’s policy and planning policy are made provides further insight into what planning is likely to achieve for children.

The Scottish Government’s (2013a) vision for play is set out in the national play strategy:

‘Children’s play is crucial to Scotland’s wellbeing; socially, economically and environmentally. Our people are our greatest resource and the early years of life set the pattern for children’s future development.’ (p. 6)

This strategy recognises the role of the planning system in delivering children’s play opportunities:

‘The type of environments available for play have a major impact on the nature of that play so careful consideration should be given to the planning and design of public spaces and particularly for communities within the built environment. Children and young people should have access to play spaces, whether they are park areas or informal spaces where they choose to play’ (p. 20).

This is a first step to aligning the two policy areas, and from here it suggests two ways planning policy supports the play strategy:

‘Scottish Planning Policy sets out that planning authorities should protect valued open space, and seek to address needs identified in open space strategies. There should be clean, safe and welcoming spaces for children and young people to play and gather where they are not considered a nuisance by others in their communities, as set out in Designing Places and Designing Streets’ (p.20).

However, examining SPP shows it makes only one explicit reference to children’s play:

‘Local development plans (LDPs) should identify sites for new indoor or outdoor sports, recreation or play facilities where a need has been identified in a local facility strategy, playing field strategy or similar document. They should provide for good quality, accessible facilities in sufficient quantity to satisfy current and likely future community demand.’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 51)

Whilst it is important that it does help facilitate play, the policy focuses on specific *facilities*, rather than children’s wider spatial needs. Moreover, it subsequently lists requirements for safeguarding outdoor sports facilities, but not for play facilities or informal open space. This leads Play Scotland (interviewee) to lament:

‘in the same way that if a full size football pitch is to be removed anywhere, Sport Scotland are the statutory consultees [organisation that must be consulted on relevant planning applications] ... we’ve argued that there should be a similar body either set up, established, or responsibility given to Sport Scotland for informal recreation spaces because these are the spaces that are actually far more important and fundamental to the health and wellbeing of communities.’

This lack of statutory support arguably makes the ability of planning authorities ‘to protect valued open space’ (Scottish Government, 2013a, p. 20) weak, particularly in relation to the economic focus on open space already discussed.

Another concerning element in linking play and planning approaches is that, whilst SPP references the Play Strategy as a ‘key document’ under the heading ‘Green Infrastructure’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 50), a planner would be going beyond their statutory remit to consider it in their own policy and practice. Similarly, *Designing Streets* (Scottish Government, 2010b), and *Creating Spaces* (Scottish Government, 2013c) do acknowledge how good design allows children to play outside, and suggests prioritising their needs over road traffic, but has no statutory standing. This means that whilst national planning policy in Scotland goes some way to supporting children’s play, developments can gain planning permission without considering, or adhering to play policy and guidance. Furthermore, the play strategy (Scottish Government, 2013a) receives only cursory attention in SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b), whilst PAN65 (Scottish Government, 2008c), introduced in 2008, cannot account for provisions within the play strategy. Therefore, it is unlikely planners will be aware of its content and relation to their own practice.

8.3.1 Acting on children’s play policy

Though the planning system is currently weak on play, the Scottish Government (2013d) set out an action plan for achieving the play strategy vision that relays some actions related to planning, though predominantly to Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs). These publicly led, local partnerships co-ordinate cross-departmental issues and engage with local communities, and both NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) and SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) emphasise the importance of linking land use and community planning. If these can work effectively across policy and departmental spheres, they may begin to help the planning system recognise the rights of children. However, it is important to be critical of this potential, as research suggests CPPs have not always been successful in achieving their strategic objectives, and in facilitating joined-up thinking and partnership working (Park & Kerley, 2011; Matthews, 2014).

Although CPPs may not be equipped for their notional role, the interviewee at Play Scotland was optimistic about the impact of the play action plan on space to play:

‘We are getting ready to do the next phase of the actions and ‘Play and Place’ is a strong theme for us... We’ve got a lot of papers ready to release, like research on what does happen and we’re now looking at what actions we now need to expand and meet to support taking it forward.’

Part of this progress is the development of ‘The Place Standard’ (Architecture & Design Scotland et al., 2015), a tool aiming to provide a structure for people’s conversations about place. A range of people can use this tool in a range of circumstances, but the 14 criteria set a common framework for

what makes a 'place' (Figure 8.1). 'Play and recreation' is included as an indicator, and Play Scotland (interviewee) hopes this will bring play into the conversations of communities and professionals when they think about changes to areas. However, as a very new tool 'to start conversations', with no official standing in the planning system, it is difficult to envisage who will use it, how thoroughly, how much, and the extent of its influence on space to play.

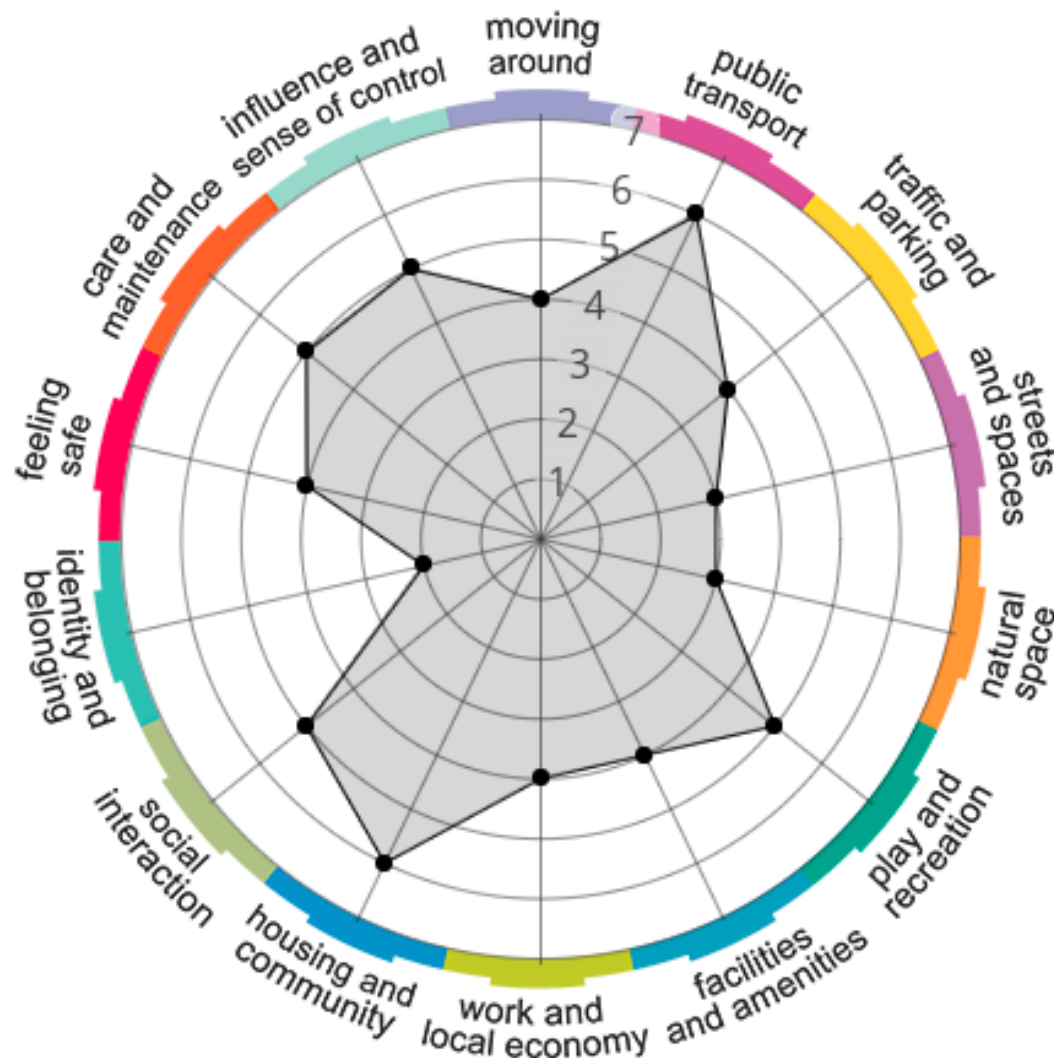


Figure 8.1 Diagram of the Place Standard tool with example. The wheel is filled in from numbers one to seven, as led by a set of guiding questions (Architecture & Design Scotland et al., 2015).

The other main approach pursued by the Scottish Government for play is a focus on early years intervention:

‘the early years collaborative have just adopted play as a key change and that is massive. It means that play is interwoven now with health, community planning partnerships and local authorities before day one of a child's life.’ (Play Scotland, interviewee)

The collaborative was set up to ‘accelerate the high level principles set out in the Early Years Framework into practical action’ (Scottish Government, 2015b). However, it is vital to note that this

means play is recognised as important for children up to age eight, but there is less policy provision for older children. Indeed, the Early Years Framework (Scottish Government, 2008a), refers to the planning system as an ‘adult’ service (Scottish Government, 2008a, p. 5). This is further indication of the fundamental problem in the structure of public services, viewing them separately as child and adult services, rather than child and *universal* services. Along with the other instances of unconnected policy and gaps in pulling government agendas together, this suggests a problematic disconnect in achieving government aims that may not be remedied by the Early Years Collaborative alone.

The Scottish Government wishes to make Scotland the best place to grow up on the one hand (Scottish Government, 2012a), but positions children and their rights as a distinct social policy issue on the other. Moreover:

‘The purpose of the SPP is to set out national planning policies which reflect Scottish Ministers’ priorities for operation of the planning system’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 2)

Thus, if SPP reflects all ministers’ priorities, it should incorporate all spatial aspects of government policy, including alignment with the priorities of the Minister for Children and Young People. This reflects a potential limit to the networked, facilitative governance that the Scottish Government is striving for.

With steps towards a strong social policy for play, there is optimism from Play Scotland (interviewee) that this will link with planning. However, no clear links have been made so far. Meanwhile, the Place Standard (Architecture & Design Scotland et al., 2015), Creating Places (Scottish Government, 2013c), and Designing Streets (Scottish Government, 2010b) make efforts to encourage planners and developers to consider play in placemaking, but recent revisions to the NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) and SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) have not increased the guidance or statutory standing of play in planning. This is particularly poignant as both revisions were in preparation at the same time as the play strategy (Scottish Government, 2013a,d) and new children’s legislation (Scottish Parliament, 2014b). It therefore remains that planning policy, and play policy sit within separate spheres of government. This means planners *could* take a robust approach to children’s play, but it would be voluntary, and could be overridden by statutory concerns contained in NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a). These structural issues are likely why Play Scotland (interviewee) finds:

‘it’s very difficult to actually make the difference that we would like to make in the planning system.’

8.4 Policy for participation in decision-making

Chapter three presented the policy on community engagement, laid down in NPF3 and SPP, but predominantly provided in PAN3. In relation to community engagement, NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) focuses on the Scottish Government's Community Empowerment Agenda. It states:

'Planning can ensure it enhances quality of life through good placemaking, and lead a move towards new, lower carbon models of urban living. More empowered communities have a key role to play in this. Our programme of town centre charrettes [see section 8.5.3] will demonstrate how significant change can be achieved through a design-led and collaborative approach.' (Scottish Government, 2014a, p. 8)

This is supported by SPP's section 'People Make the System Work' where it expounds (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 5):

'Throughout the planning system, opportunities are available for everyone to engage in the development decisions which affect them... Effective engagement can lead to better plans, better decisions and more satisfactory outcomes and can help to avoid delays in the planning process.'

This wording is similar in scope and aim to UNCRC Article 12, giving 'respect for the views of the child'. This provides promising allegiance between the planning system's idea of participation, and the UNCRC's ideal. Indeed, providing more detailed guidance on the Scottish Government's vision, PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) calls for proportional engagement, as well as dissemination of information in audience-appropriate formats. It also calls for capacity building and education for communities, to be done mainly via the Scottish Government webpage, or by PAS. This drive to increase institutional capacity fits with Healey's (1997) collaborative planning, though the Scottish Government's phrasing appears to suggest placing such onus on communities, rather than planning institutions. With this, PAN3 includes many references to 'people', 'everyone' and 'all' having the right and opportunity to engage in all stages of planning, and defines community engagement as giving:

'people a genuine opportunity to have a say on a development plan or proposal which affects them; listening to what they say and reaching a decision in an open and transparent way taking account of all views expressed' (Scottish Government, 2010a, p. 3)

As a result, the broad scope of the Scottish planning system appears to support the right of children to be involved in the planning process.

Delving more deeply into planning policy, it becomes apparent that it does not necessarily provide adequate scope and support for children’s meaningful involvement. As Wood (2015) identified in draft national policy and PAN3, there is a concerning trend in the policy documents to switch between phrasing participation as a *right* of communities, and as a *responsibility* of communities. Table 8.1 shows the confusion between these two framings, and with this, it is difficult to hold planning authorities to account for their role in facilitating meaningful engagement. Meanwhile, if members of the public fail to engage positively, or do not focus on ‘matters material to planning’ (Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 5), planning authorities can justify ignoring or overruling their concerns. This could implicitly take the onus off of planning authorities to facilitate positive and inclusive opportunities to participate, and to use their professional expertise to steer engagement towards planning issues. This is lamentable in relation to children as a community of characteristic, as whilst these issues could prevent meaningful engagement with many groups in society, children are particularly restricted in their ability to engage *proactively* with planning.

Table 8.1 The confusion between phrasing participation as a right and as a responsibility of individuals in national planning policy

Document	Participation as a right of individuals	Participation as a responsibility of individuals
PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a, p. 3)	‘Everyone has the right to comment on any planning application’ (p. 3)	‘The community has an important role in engaging positively with the planning authority to ensure all parties have a common understanding of the issues’ (p. 10)
SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b)	One of the core values of the planning system is to: ‘be inclusive, engaging all interests as early and effectively as possible’ (p.4) ‘Throughout the planning system, opportunities are available for everyone to engage in the development decisions which affect them. Such engagement between stakeholders should be early, meaningful and proportionate. Innovative approaches, tailored to the unique circumstances are encouraged, for example charrettes or mediation initiatives.’ (p.5)	‘all those involved with the system have a responsibility to engage and work together constructively and proportionately to achieve quality places for Scotland. This includes the Scottish Government and its agencies, public bodies, statutory consultees, elected members, communities, the general public, developers, applicants, agents, interest groups and representative organisations.’ (p.4) ‘Individuals and community groups should ensure that they focus on planning issues and use available opportunities for engaging constructively with developers and planning authorities.’ (p.5)

Children, like the majority of non-planners, are unlikely to comprehend what does and does not constitute a relevant planning issue. For instance, in talking about their local area, they may be more concerned with traffic safety or littering than the location of new housing or offices. This was evident in the wide ranging views the children expressed in my fieldwork (chapter six); from the experiences of South Lanarkshire Council planning department (which did channel the non-planning views to other local authority departments that could help); and Aberdeen City Council planning department (who did not) (chapter seven). Thus, without clarity on who has the right to participate, and who has the responsibility to facilitate participation, neither SPP (Scottish Government, 2014b) nor PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) can support Article 12 of the UNCRC.

In providing the finer detail of how planning authorities and developers can engage with the general public, PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) recommends following the national standards for community engagement (Communities Scotland, 2005). These provide a framework, but notably the document's explanation of each standard gives children no specific mention other than once as 'pupils' (who could be engaged in a 'Cognitive mapping exercise or workshop' (p. 32), without further explanation), and once in the context of child care for parents (p. 29). This arguably backgrounds their right to participate, and insinuates that their engagement is not as important as adults'. Indeed, PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) mentions the services provided by PAS on multiple occasions, but does not indicate the support they can provide in engaging children and young people. This is a missed opportunity, particularly as chapter seven showed that PAS's work with children has been influential in helping planning authorities consider engaging younger age groups (for further exploration, see section 8.5.2). Therefore, by not mentioning children's involvement explicitly, PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) perpetuates the policy myth that either children's views and needs are less/not important, and/or that adults can understand and represent children's needs without involving them in the process (Wood, 2015).

The backgrounding of children's participation in PAN3 (Scottish Government, 2010a) is exacerbated by the emphasis it places on councillors, and community councils for carrying out engagement. This assumes that:

- councillors effectively represent all of their community; and
- community councils have the resources to engage all.

As children are not part of the electorate, councillors may not adequately represent children's own views of place. Moreover, even councillors that have genuine concerns around children and their use of space may hold fixed views of children's agency. Similarly, community councils may have little contact and capacity to work with children in their voluntary roles. The Scottish Government compounds these barriers by their emphasis on written representations in the plan-making process.

These already favour those with time, knowledge of planning, and good literacy skills, yet one local authority officer in Scotland (interview) was conscious that without getting children to fill in representation forms, the planning process could not technically take their views seriously. For children, who the UN granted rights specifically because their capabilities are different to adults', these assumptions alone cannot ensure their participation and views are valued.

8.5 Practical support for children's participation in decision-making

With an increasing focus on the role of communities in public services and community empowerment, the Scottish Government recognises that policy can have its limits. They therefore aim to provide leadership and support to local authorities in their community engagement. For instance, an officer from the Scottish Government stated (interview):

'the primary people involved in supporting planning, in the planning system in Scotland is the Local Authority. So if we can get them doing things then, most people's face to face engagement with planning is through the local authority.'

When asked about how they support the engagement of children, the Scottish Government officer stated:

'I'll probably pick up on three things. One is that I suppose for the first time we actually had- for we in the planning team- actually had a focus on involving children and young people in the National Planning Framework. We also run the Scottish Awards for Quality in Planning... and then there's also the mainstreaming of Charrettes. And I suppose fourthly, we fund Planning Aid as well.'

I explore each of these in turn, to ascertain the level of support the Scottish Government gives to local authorities in developing the skills and confidence to involve children in planning.

8.5.1 Scottish Awards for Quality in Planning (SAQPs)

To promote best practice in community engagement, the Scottish Government runs the SAQPs every year to commend planning authorities in going above and beyond statutory requirements. Both Aberdeen City Council and South Lanarkshire Council have previously won SAQPs (2014 and 2005 respectively) for involving people aged below 18. Additionally, the 2015 overall winner and one of the nominated planning authorities had both completed some work with the under 18 age

group (Scottish Government, 2015c). Whilst this is positive, there are potential issues in using this as the only way to reward practice. For example, South Lanarkshire Council has received little press for their engagement activities which they conducted over the course of ten years. In contrast, Aberdeen City Council, and other more recent winners, have received considerable attention in planning circles for their work. When asked about this, the interview officer at South Lanarkshire Council explained:

'Well I've done quite a lot of, well, articles and spoken to other planners in other authorities and just basically the way that planners do. I'm in the development plan forum as well so we kind of share our experiences, and then of course we have to do our consultation and engagement documents so everybody can see what we've been doing but... Scotland's quite bad for not sort of embracing what other people are doing. And I always get disappointed when somebody said "oh I've got this great idea" and I think oh, done that. Why don't you look at what we've done before? You know, we've been doing it for 10 years... there's nobody who's really got an overview for the whole of Scotland... it's really more the authorities round about you that will phone you and say "have you done this?"'

This quote suggests a barrier exists to the sort of cross-sectoral, institutional change that Healey (Healey, 1997) commends for widespread collaborative planning. This is evident from the fact the Scottish Government officer interviewee was not aware whether any planning authorities had won SAQPs for involving children before 2014. It suggests that whilst institutional change in one planning authority is possible with the right people, and sustained attention to an issue, achieving wider change and sharing good practice is not occurring. In many ways, this may be due to entrenched policy mechanisms and practices that are hard to overcome, even when the imperatives exist (Brownill & Carpenter, 2007; Conrad et al., 2011; Pacione, 2014).

In relation to the recent SAQP win by Aberdeen City Council, the interviewed officer at South Lanarkshire Council responded:

'I just laughed. I just laughed actually because I was at the award ceremony and I'm sat there going 'I did that 10 years ago'. What are they on about? Oh dear. Yeah. But it's fine. I mean it's what it is.'

However, since the 2014 SAQPs, the Scottish Government has set up the Development Planning Forum which aims to bring local and strategic planning authorities together to discuss their ideas and experiences:

'we used those examples in the development plan forum that was held in Glasgow in December. And got those two local authorities [Aberdeen and Tayplan] plus YoungScot [see chapter seven], to actually try and disseminate what they see as being good practice and what they see as being positive to the wider range of development plan authorities. So we've sort of taken something a little further and tried to engage and push it down into, you know, we, or the judges felt that these were good practice examples, so let's move this and how can this be used wider across Scottish planning authorities?'

Scottish Government officer (interview)

The Scottish Government interviewee feels this will be positive for the future of development plan consultations, and particularly in encouraging the engagement of children. The interviewed officer from the City of Edinburgh Council would likely welcome this too, as:

'I was at a recent event by the Improvement Service¹ and they certainly encouraged everybody within the groups they were in to talk about what they were doing and then at the end had a kind of an open reflective session to have a chat about what everybody was doing, and they also had Tayplan and Loch Lomond and the Trossachs [2015 SAQP winners] there saying what they had done and looking at engagement. So yes, but that, that's not a lot when you consider you know, I'm dealing with the engagement on, on that and have been doing it for some years. I learn far more about what's going on because of my work with Planning Aid [PAS] then I do if I was simply sitting in the council not wanting to look out at what's happening'

Officer at the City of Edinburgh Council (interview)

This further suggests a lack of policy networks and drive to support more inclusive and innovative work across Scotland. However:

'I remember years ago, I worked in Dumbarton and all of the authorities in Strathclyde used to have a six-weekly meeting where they all came together and discussed topics, and that doesn't tend to happen now... or I've never known of anything in Edinburgh and the Lothians happening like that. I don't know if it still happens in the west, but I think it would- it's something that's kind of missing- is that sort of forum more regularly to allow people to just sort of exchange good practice in what they're doing. You've got to be, you've gotta go beyond this to actually find out... I think there needs to be more support from Scottish Government to actually fund authorities to know more of what they should be doing and then to be raising awareness of the capacity in communities as to their involvement and how they can get involved. Particularly in those communities that don't tend to get involved.'

Officer, City of Edinburgh Council (interview)

These comments suggest the officer is not aware of the Development Planning Forum. This implies a lack of effective communication and appropriate support between local authorities and government. It also presents evidence of a flaw in the networked, facilitative governance the Scottish Government is trying to achieve. Indeed, the officer interviewed at South Lanarkshire Council is sceptical about the practicality of some of the Scottish Government's ideas:

'that's probably the hardest bit- is to get you know best practice out there- because for the best will in the world, the Scottish Government have great airy fairy ideas that are totally impractical, but if they came out to the local authorities we could say to them 'well we cannae do that, but we've done this what do you think of that?'. In a lot of the cases the way to do it is to apply for the excellence in planning awards [SAQPs] because then they see what kind of things we've been doing... And we, we've got a couple of awards for our engagement kind of thing or commendations or whatever, which is good, and we will continue to do it. We'll continue to try and break down the barriers.'

¹ The Improvement Service is 'the national improvement organisation for local government and community planning in Scotland' Their purpose is to help councils and their partners to improve the health, quality of life and opportunities of all people in Scotland through community leadership, strong local governance and the delivery of high quality, efficient local services' (The Improvement Service, 2015)

Overall, this suggests that whilst the level of support and acknowledgement from the Scottish Government may be growing, the SAQPs are not enough to share and promote good practice when working with children. Indeed, they do not necessarily emphasise work that has been done over successive years, focusing instead on individual projects. The development planning forum may help enable this, yet the evidence presented here suggests it may be limited in its current ability to attract attendees, and facilitate change.

8.5.2 Planning Aid for Scotland/PAS

The work of PAS is increasingly receiving attention, and as illustrated by the Scottish Government interviewee when asked about children and young people being included in planning:

‘you can spot it recently, I suppose with- I’m gonna use Planning Aid as an example, you know they’ve been doing, it’s been focused more from them on children and young people in the last 3 to 4 years particularly... we don’t micromanage them in any way in relation to this, but they’ve taken on a number of elements which can be linked back really to some of the development planning side, because if you think about IMBY™ and more likely the ‘Young Placemakers’ work that they’ve been doing that’s been used by Tayplan as a way of trying to foster youth engagement, and we’ve had some interest and support from ministers like Derek McKay [former Scottish minister for planning]... [and] my colleagues in the Equality unit have supported Planning Aid to expand the ‘Young Placemakers’ work into work with Gypsy/Travellers.’

PAS’s engagement with children is also gaining attention in the children’s rights arenas, with the CYPSCS (interviewee) noting in relation to Article 12 and planning:

‘it sort of feels like it’s almost tangible now, that you can see things happening, and Planning Aid have got it.’

Meanwhile, a survey of all planning authorities in Scotland in 2013 showed that of the respondents (26 out of a possible 38), 10 had used at least one of PAS’s childrens programs, and nearly every planning authority was aware of what they offer. Moreover, planning authorities had barely engaged with primary school aged pupils at all outside of IMBY™ sessions (Wood, 2013). The influence they have in the realm of children and young people’s participation is therefore unrivalled in Scottish planning, with two of the interviewed local authority officers in Scotland having been involved with the organisation. In addition, much of my own training in formulating and running events with children has come through volunteering with PAS.

The Scottish Government is keen to publicise their support for PAS's actions, and feel that this in part contributes to their commitment to wide engagement in the Scottish planning system. Whilst PAS have made a clear contribution to the furthering of engagement and methods in Scotland, their programs for children's engagement are deliberately placed within the realm of education, rather than participation. Indeed, PAS's schemes have been commissioned by local education authorities as part of their school programs, rather than by planning authorities, and the charity has a strong focus on fitting the programs with the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2011). They promote their 'young people' schemes as useful in meeting the Scottish Government's national outcome of 'Our young people are successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens' (Scottish Government, 2012b). This means that in many instances, there is no real chance of participation, and the exercises the children undertake about change in their local area are often hypothetical (see page 170). Whilst this may have educational value, it is inaccurate to refer to these as participation events, except in the occasions where they are linked directly to opportunities for real outcomes.

The deliberate alignment of PAS's programs with the Scottish Government's education policy highlights the difficulty of the charity's role as an impartial provider. Indeed, 62.3% of their 2015 income came from the Scottish Government (OSCR Scottish Charity Regulator, 2015), and so they may not be in a position to place children's rights at the forefront of their work. Indeed, PAS cannot be overtly political, other than through supporting their funder's aims. Whilst they seek to increase participation in the planning process, they are governed by complex networks of power that frame their work, and what they can and cannot do or say. To bid for projects, they must show that they will meet the funders' aims, and with dominant views of childhood focusing either on their education, or their empowerment, it is likely that funders require the charity to meet these goals. This perpetuates the dominant views of children as in need of transformation before they can become rational partakers in the planning process (Hartung, 2011).

Another troubling element of PAS's programs for young people, when examined through a rights-based lens, is the acclaim that PAS's 'Young Placemakers' project has gained for its supposed commitment to children's involvement in planning. PAS promotes the links the programme has with the Scottish Government's educational outcomes in their website summary:

'PAS's Young Placemakers aims to recruit a network of motivated young community leaders (16-20 year olds) who will champion active citizenship and create a stronger voice for young people.'

'The Young Placemakers initiative recognises that young people should be more engaged with the decisions which will shape a Scotland that is greener, smarter and stronger. Increasing involvement in the planning system will give young people a central role in the creation of Scotland's future places' (PAS, 2015a)

This project was carried out with the Strategic Development Planning Authority, Tayplan. They collectively recruited 'Young Placemakers' from the local area to champion the work of planning, and help gain wider involvement of people in their demographic. I was a volunteer on this project, but took a largely passive role as it unfolded due to my own discomfort with the approach.

The original aim of the Young Placemakers project was to reach out to the 16-25 age range. However, the resulting eight 'young placemakers', (with one exception) were over the age of 18. Furthermore, they were mostly studying Town and Regional Planning at the University of Dundee. These 'Young Placemakers' produced a report on a planning topic that was important to them, and helped high school students at a day-long Youth Camp, held on a weekend. At this workshop, the pupils watched a talk delivered by an officer from Tayplan; read display boards about the plan; and took part in several activities to understand what planning is, and what a planner does. The main task of the day was to produce a poster, performance or song about an issue they felt was important for their area, whilst the final part was to consider what planning is like as a career, and educational routes into planning. As the examples in Figure 8.2 show, many of these were geared more towards promoting participation, than actually contributing information to the plan.

In itself Young Placemakers is not problematic as a program that promotes itself as successful in involving young adults and in educating teenagers. The difficulty however is how the project was framed as particularly innovative in involving under 18 year olds in a meaningful way. The automatic assumption by the Scottish Government interviewee that this project is leading the way in children's rights in planning is evident of the confusion that appears between different age groups of children, and in conflating education and participation. This perpetuates a will to empower, and fundamental misunderstanding of children's rights (Cruikshank, 1999). Perhaps most worrying is the inclusion of PAS's Young Placemaker programme in Together's (The Scottish Alliance for Children's Rights Charities) (2014, p.76) annual report as an example project of how Scotland is furthering children's rights in the planning system. This links also with a comment from an interviewee at the CYPSCS:

'we're doing relatively well in ensuring that we're being informed as a nation on a lot of different issues by teenagers, but often states parties and public bodies rely on the voice of much older young people or even young adults, who are outwith the age range for the UNCRC.'

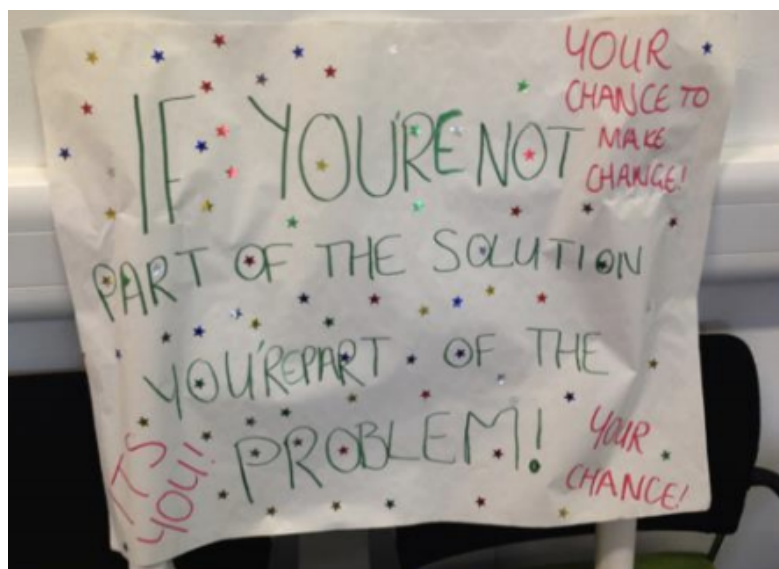
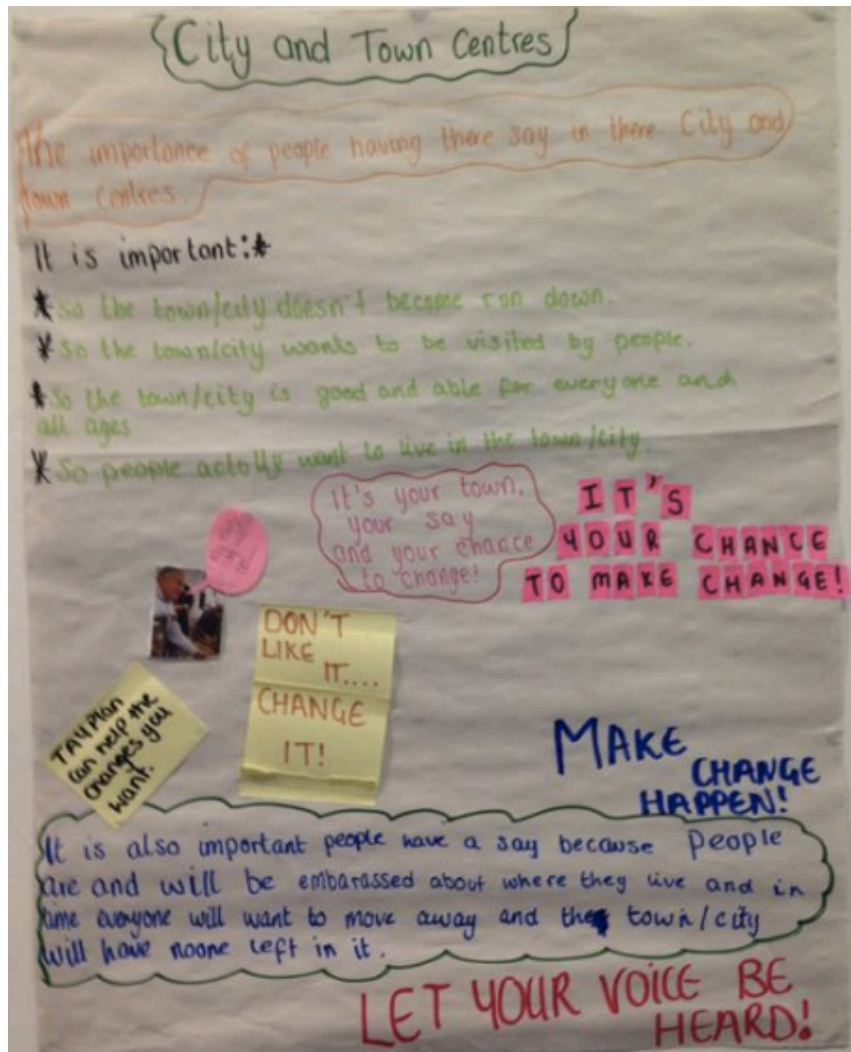


Figure 8.2 Posters produced by participants at PAS's and Tayplan's Youth Camp Day (Tayplan Strategic Development Planning Authority & PAS, pp. 3-4)

In examining PAS's work, it is clear they have raised awareness for the need to involve children in planning. However, it is problematic to assume PAS is a rights-promoting organisation. Within their educational focus there are elements of participation, but as an impartial charity, partly funded by the Scottish Government, they do not have aims of evolving the planning system, but to aid in community engagement within the existing structures (Inch, 2014). In this sense, they are a technology of power that funders can mobilise for their own agenda, and can inadvertently perpetuate the same dominating tendencies over children that they purport to tackle (Cruikshank, 1999; Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

8.5.3 The Charrette Mainstreaming Programme

Charrettes are a (relatively) new form of community engagement, where instead of planners presenting members of a community with a pre-formed plan and asking for their feedback, the community is invited to work with members of the design team (such as architects and planners) from the beginning. The goal of a charrette is thus to produce a collaborative design or proposal, in a short and intense period of time, that involves as much involvement of non-professionals as possible. Additionally, the charrette model should breakdown the power differential between actors, so that each is considered an expert in their own experience of place. Whilst this method of participation is not without its critics, the Scottish Government has embraced it as the new way to guide community engagement, and thus the mainstreaming programme provides half the funding for successful applicants to undertake a charrette project (Scottish Government, 2015d). As part of this, there is an increasing focus on how charrettes can be used to reach often excluded groups. For instance, the Scottish Government interviewee finds:

‘I asked [name of person] who runs this, and I asked him, ‘so what involvement do children and young people have in that?’ And he was suggesting that there’s a general thrust for them to actually engage with children and young people early doors, maybe before the actual event itself and try to get their feedback’

Over the course of the programme, the Scottish Government has part funded around 30 charrettes, which have frequently been partnerships between local authorities and private consultants, with no explicit requirement in the funding application to involve children (Scottish Government, 2015d). This means there has been great variance in how they are structured and who has been involved, but there is also no single, accessible database of post-charrette reports from which to assess the strategies and approaches that different agencies have taken.

Though a lack of evidence makes it difficult to assess the extent of children's involvement, there are several cases in which PAS's education schemes have been linked to their CharrettePlus schemes, which I evaluate here. These are PAS's version of a traditional charrette, carried out on a significantly smaller budget, and with the aim of combining town and community planning into one, focused event (PAS, 2015b). As part of the three Charretteplus events PAS has run under this funding stream [as of September 2015], the engagement of both primary and secondary school children have been an important element. The CharrettePlus itself is run in a central venue over the course of 3 or 4 days, though engagement with children has taken place up to a month before each, with members of staff and trained volunteers visiting several schools in each area; talking to them about the charrette; and gaining their participation by undertaking tasks.

In the pilot of the Charretteplus model in Levenmouth in 2013, I attended as a PAS volunteer, and helped a facilitator lead small group sessions with primary school children, and larger group sessions with local secondary schools. In these sessions the children mostly responded to photos of the local area and brainstormed ideas. For the subsequent two charrettes, I worked with PAS as an associate to develop their engagement activities with schools further, to include a range of tasks that could be carried out, and analysed on a wider scale. These tasks were the same for the primary and secondary school children, though the planners allocated longer for the younger children. These tasks included:

- Ranking different users of their local area from those that use it most to those that use it least. This list includes teenagers, families, police officers, tourists, cyclists, drivers, elderly people, and disabled people.
- Marking liked, disliked and important places on a map of the local area using a range of stickers and drawing their own key. This also involves drawing routes to school and noting down the method of travel they take.
- Filling in sheets around what they like, dislike, want to stay the same and want to change about the area.
- Producing a list of potential ideas and solutions for change.
- Picking one change they would really like to see and working in groups to develop a proposal.

In both charrettes, the thoughts, feelings and ideas of the participants were collated into maps, lists of comments, and wordles [diagrams that analyse word frequency] about places most liked and disliked. PAS presented these on posters to show to adult participants at the charrette itself. With this, at one of the charrettes, children from the local primary school presented some of their ideas to an audience, whilst at both events I presented an overview of the children and young people's responses, and talked with members of the local community about them.

Where children's involvement is linked directly to projects with a real chance of outcomes, such as a charrette, there is greater potential for the involvement of children to be meaningful. Within this style, there is also potential to showcase the views and ideas of children, making them more visible

to adults, and giving the participants feedback on how what they have said has (or has not), been incorporated into the eventual action plans. However, like all participation projects, it is easy to sideline particular interests in favour of those that speak louder. Therefore, if the approach of charrettes is more open to the involvement of children as a starting point, then the funding provided by the Scottish Government is increasingly supporting their involvement in live projects. Yet at present, there is no requirement within the Scottish Government's remit for this, and thus I can only evaluate the approach of PAS, who may take a different approach to other recipients of charrette mainstreaming funding (Scottish Government, 2015d).

8.6 Legislating for children's rights

The previous sections have reviewed Scottish Government's planning and related policies in relation to planning with and for children. They have also examined the additional support that the Scottish Government provides, suggesting that this too is not adequate to instil an understanding of, and rights-respecting practice in the planning system. Thus, if non-statutory policy and support measures do not adequately facilitate children's participation in place and process, then perhaps more statutory policy mechanisms are necessary.

In the Scottish planning system, only primary and secondary legislation could instil an obligation to include children in the process, or to ensure their rights are considered in the outcomes. Whilst it is perhaps unsurprising that NPF3 (Scottish Government, 2014a) does not mention children or children's play, this makes it difficult for the planning system to fully support other national priorities such as making Scotland the best place to grow up (Scottish Government, 2012a). However, the recent Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (Scottish Parliament, 2014b), now places a duty on Scottish Ministers to:

- keep under review whether there are steps they could take to strengthen their approach to implementation of the UNCRC;
- take any appropriate actions in response to this;
- promote awareness and understanding of the UNCRC; and
- report and require any recognised public bodies to report on their progress in furthering the UNCRC every three years.

Thus, regardless of existing policy, the planning system does now have some obligation to instigate Articles 12 and 31 into their practice. With this, the Scottish Government (2015a) has introduced a requirement for Child Rights and Wellbeing Impact Assessments (CRWIAs) on all new legislative and policy developments.

The Children and Young People (Scotland) Act could help educate planners on the wider context of children's rights and their obligations as duty bearers. However, it is not possible to predict how Scottish Ministers will interpret their duty, with a duty to report, not the same as a duty to progress (Tisdall, 2013). Indeed, given the historic disconnect between planning and children's services, the act provides reason for tentative optimism, but it is unlikely to foster wide-scale collaboration between child-focused practice and planning. It is also important to remain critical as the act gives a stronger statutory standing to indicators of wellbeing than it does to rights, and whilst these may be complimentary, Tisdall (2015) notes that they are not equivalent policy concepts. As rights have an important part to play in setting minimum standards, particularly in policy areas where children are not the priority, Tisdall believes a rights-based approach is more likely to produce outcomes for children in areas where they are currently not provided for.

8.7 Conclusion

In a context of declining freedom for children, and lack of professional awareness from planners of their role within this, policy is an important tool of governmentality for influencing the subjectivity of planners, and hence local level practices that can better facilitate children's rights. Whilst policy does not hold a monopoly on how planners carry out their function, it is important in defining the breadth and limits of what practitioners do in their day to day activities. This chapter has reviewed the way children are framed in national planning policy; the links it does and does not have with national policy that focuses on children; and the extent to which policy on community engagement is inclusive of the specific needs of children in the process. It has shown that children are largely absent from planning policy, other than providing for specific facilities such as structured play or sport.

Though policy has its limits, the Scottish Government does attempt to provide extra support and guidance and lead the way in engaging a younger audience in planning. However, their work in commending the work of planning authorities, funding and encouraging the work of PAS, and their charrette mainstreaming process do not necessarily encourage an understanding or respect for children's rights. This lack of explicit framing of children means that planners could take a critical approach to children's spatial needs and participation in the process, but as chapter seven illustrates, this would largely be voluntary. Indeed, it seems unlikely this would be adopted under a rights-based agenda. This shows a gap in the joining up of different agendas across the Scottish Government. The new Children and Young People (Scotland) Act provides reason to hope a rights-focus may increase within policy sectors across the Scottish Government, however, chapter nine now moves to

explore more direct ways the Scottish planning system could better-facilitate children's participation rights.

Chapter Nine: Progress in Children's Participation

Chapters six to eight detailed what is present in the planning system in relation to children's participation rights, and how far Scottish Government policy goes towards supporting their spatial realisation. They showed there are gaps in planners' understanding of children's participation, and in how national policy is likely to influence the attitudes and practice of planners. Thus, investigation of the potential steps to progress children's participation in planning is necessary to meet the aim of this thesis.

This chapter sets out potential actions and approaches that could achieve a more child-friendly planning approach in the future. It begins by considering the methods and process of children's involvement in a planning project, why planners may shy away from it, and some insights into the sensibility and capability of primary school children. To focus these potential changes on the way policy and practice occur in Scotland, it then considers the rights-based focus of the Play Sufficiency Duty in Wales, and what this has meant for planners and planning policy. The chapter concludes by suggesting a restructuring of planning that instils greater resources for children's participation, and greater imperative for planners to consider them in their practice.

9.1 Targeting primary school children in the planning process

Chapter seven showed that planners rarely, if ever, find ways to consider the views of primary school children in their decision-making processes. However, with the lack of policy impetus and guidance on how a planning authority could do so (chapter eight), this is unsurprising. Moreover, an officer from a child-focused NGO (interviewee) believes the main barrier to children's participation is that adults are often worried about talking to them. Indeed, self-doubt is evident from the tone and expression of an interviewed officer at Aberdeen City Council in relation to primary school children:

'I don't know because we've not done it, and I don't know if I'm being, you know, close-minded about this or not, but I think if we were to speak to, especially kind of younger to mid-primary school age, if we would need to take on a whole different approach, or if we could do exactly the same thing... I just don't know if we were to go into a primary school

which hadn't done that topic yet, or wasn't doing that topic at the time, whether even you know, it would be feasible for us to do it, and what kind of, what kind of answers to questions, or what kind of questions are we asking to start off with? And what kind of answers are we able to use within our own consultations? So...I don't want to seem negative about it, but...'

In contrast, with teenagers:

'There's no issue here in terms of our skill set... if you can listen to someone and talk back and answer questions then that's a basic skill that you know you should have, and engaging young people is no different.'

Officer, Aberdeen City Council (interview)

It is also relevant that some of Aberdeen City Council's planning officers had previously been involved in a planning project with teenagers led by PAS in 2013, but no one in the team had experience with younger children. Reflecting on my own practise at Balgreen Primary School, I was nervous at times of the capabilities or emotional capacity of children to deal with the time-scales, complexity, and potential disappointment of becoming involved in planning, and would not have felt confident leading a project with so many children had I not had previous experience working with them. In spite of this, my involvement altered my approach and has led to greater personal confidence in how to approach children. Meanwhile, all planning-focused interviewees described how themselves, or others, had initial anxieties about talking to teenagers, yet these largely subsided when they actually interacted with them.

Building on the value of experience in influencing planning practice, an officer at the City of Edinburgh Council (interview) illustrated a keenness to engage with a younger audience, and whilst they had not managed meaningful participation in their most recent development planning process, they had since taken part in activities with teenagers run by PAS. This led them to state:

'I feel personally I'm in a better position to go in and run a better session for them as well that's a lot more interesting and really highlights what the issues are, where you know, I just didn't have those skills 5 years ago'

Conversely, the interviewed officer at South Lanarkshire Council had previous experience of working as a volunteer with both primary and secondary school aged children. This meant they could provide support to the rest of the planning team, which was instrumental in the planning authority taking the initiative to go into primary schools. They commented on the difference:

'primary schools are just mad, bloomin' mad... you know primary schools are all very regimented whereas secondary schools it's, you get far more opinions, but the primary schools are a complete hoot the way they engage with you and they ask you the weirdest of

questions.... Primary schools are very different, so you have to deal with them in a far more, not basic, they're not stupid they're dead smart, but you just have to slightly amend what you're going to do.'

The officer was accordingly enthusiastic about younger children's involvement. They reflect (interview):

'They like props. They love it if you take them out a lump of coal and a windmill and, or things that they can touch, they love that. Whereas the secondary school is, as long as you promise them a decent lunch they'll, you know, they'll go for it... So you just have to know what to do with each group and they do engage with you. They're really, really good. The teaching staff are brilliant as well. They're really, really good. Particularly I have to say in the primary schools because they're so enthusiastic!'

Consequently, to facilitate a greater involvement of primary school children in planning practice, there appear two main problems to address:

1. Overcoming the dominant view that younger children do not have the capacity to communicate relevant thoughts and feelings; and
2. Developing the skills, confidence and/or tools that planners can use to fairly elicit their opinions.

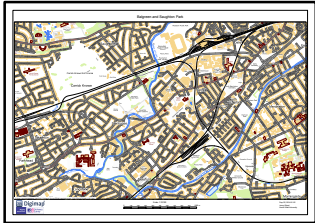

This can only be done through appropriate support and awareness raising in the profession. As this is a particular weakness in current planning approaches, I now move on to explore the participatory process of involving children in this research. This brings insight into the trials and tribulations of an in-depth ethnographic process, to shed light on how primary school children *could* be brought more centrally into the decision-making arena.


9.2 Participation methods for primary school children

As explained in chapter five, I set about engaging with the children in P5/6 and P6 at Balgreen Primary School for two inter-related purposes. The first was to gather evidence and gain an understanding of the children's views of their local area, and the second was to engage specifically on the future of Saughton Park. Consequently, the methods I used in each case differed, and brought a different kind of information to the fore. I focus here on the use and consideration of the methods in planning practice, and the procedure of involving children in a live project with multiple actors, and a range of competing views.

Relating to the methods I used to understand children's place perceptions, Table 9.1 explores my observations and important considerations for each. Although they all have their strengths and weaknesses, and still give only a brief insight into the children's lives, combined, the three exercises provide a wealth of information currently lacking in policy formation. They could also work in isolation. In particular, the maps provided a range of data, and the children completed all three exercises in short time frames. They helped stimulate class discussion at the time, and through interpreting them and feeding back to the pupils in the sessions, I was able to further elicit their views and reactions to my interpretations.

Table 9.1 My observations and considerations for each method of exploring children's use and perceptions of place

Exercise	Observations	Considerations
<p>Annotating maps of the local area</p> 	<p>The children were especially enthusiastic about this method. Across the entire project, this was one they often commented on, and many children were keen to keep their original maps. Whilst some children wrote little, most finished within the allotted time, and several were also keen to point out the many routes they could take to school and marked on alternatives where appropriate. This reflects the experiences of Cele (2006) who found the children in her study enthusiastic about all the routes they take, and eager to share with someone that shows an interest.</p>	<p>Some children needed greater help than others to draw their route to school. This was particularly true for children who were driven, or took the bus. It was also more difficult for children who lived outside of the map area to comment on their own neighbourhood. Nevertheless, all the children had lived within the school catchment at one point and were familiar with it. Giving children post-it notes, and allowing them to use the back of the paper allowed some to express information about areas off the map that were important to them. The children were also quick to grasp the concept of drawing a key, and whilst some maps were difficult to interpret, nearly all of them contained valuable information for my analysis.</p>
<p>Drawing and/or writing about their routes to school</p> 	<p>From this exercise, I learnt the breakdown of modes of travel to school, as well as their experiences of the journey. In determining how the children travel to school, it was effective to request they write it down at the start of the exercise, rather than conducting a class poll. This is because in trying to conduct a poll, some children would forget to put their hand up, keep their hand up for too long, or forget what the question was. Through this, I was able to see how children's place perceptions differed based on their mode of travel, and cross-reference this with their perceptions from the other two exercises.</p>	<p>This method worked well, though for many children it was less captivating than the mapping exercise. This was especially true for those that did not like drawing, or lived very close to the school, as it did not take them very much time to complete. Another issue was with my request that the children who finished write or draw about their ideal route to school. Many children did not understand what 'ideal' meant, but with explaining it instead as 'the best possible route', some did talk about it. This provided some interesting insights, but as many children did not get round to it, there was little information for me to analyse in-depth.</p>

<p>Detailing their in/interdependent mobility</p> 	<p>Most of the children gave reasonably detailed responses to the worksheet, with an inevitable expression by most pupils that they can go anywhere with a trusted adult. Using this method in combination with the first two, or in isolation, would help planners in practice understand what an area provides for children, and what their barriers and opportunities may be. It was simple, and easy to carry out in 30 minutes, and allowed the children to express themselves in as much or as little detail as possible. It also spurred interest from teachers in the extent of the children's mobility, and further class discussions around what they like and dislike in the area.</p>	<p>Initially I thought about using a mapping exercise, but realised with some children living outside the catchment area of the school and the potentially (very) localised nature of their mobility, that this would be too complicated with this number of children. However, with a GIS-based form of engagement, it would be easier to align the children's maps with their self-reported independent mobility (Loebach & Gilliland, 2016).</p>
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My experiences largely confirm Berglund's (2008) assertion that map-based methods for children of this age are 'child- friendly, teacher-friendly, and planner friendly', but concede that a digitised version may be advantageous. Indeed, using ArcGIS, and NVivo software packages to sort the data allowed me to create detailed area-based analyses, and break down responses in terms of how far children lived from the school, their mode of travel, and their gender. This could be automatic by using Kahila & Kytä's (2009) SoftGIS, and would mean children could enter similar information as that gathered across the three exercises, but in a potentially shorter time frame. It would also make the information easier for planners to interpret, and may require fewer staff to be present in a classroom setting. Furthermore, participants outside the local area could comment on where they do live instead. Despite this, one major advantage of a paper-based map is the quick preparation of the task, and the ability of the children to choose their key, without having to conform to a pre-defined system. This makes it potentially more child-focused, but draws attention to the inherent conflict in balancing right and efficiency, and determining which is most likely to bring outcomes that benefit children.

I feel it is important to be aware that I cannot be sure that all the children understood the purpose of any of these exercises, even if they did appear to enjoy them, nor those related to the Saughton Park project. Ultimately however, these insecurities as to the extent a child understands their participation, are not removed when the participants are adults, but become more obvious with children due to the assumptions adults are more likely to make about their competence. Consequently, whilst I feel these methods are suitable for achieving rung five of the evaluation model (Figure 9.1) in 'consulted but informed', this would depend on the confidence of planners to engage with this age group; their resources to target them; and a commitment to explore and address any issues raised by the children. At present, this may prove difficult for planners given the limited support in policy, guidance and from the lack of sharing amongst local authorities that I uncovered in chapter eight. Yet, they may provide a useful starting point for planning authorities willing to try eliciting the opinions of primary school children under their own volition.

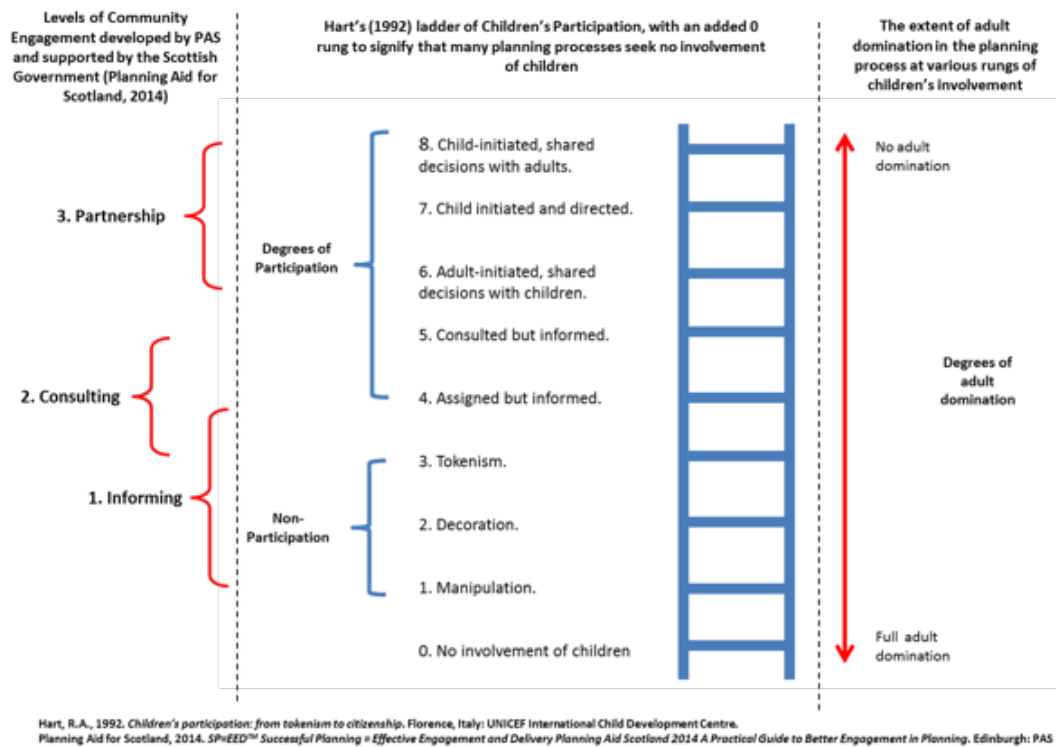


Figure 9.1 An evaluation model for assessing children's participating in process, as linked with outcomes

9.3 The methods and emotions of involving children in a live project

Moving on to the participatory approach I took for the Saughton Park project, it is important to note that the specific nature of the live project makes the methods I used less directly relevant to planning authorities and other engagement agencies. However, the process, power relations, and emotionality of this involvement may provide useful grounds and lessons for turning children's participation in a process into tangible outcomes. Figure 9.2 shows the sequence of the children's evolving input and the designs released for the restoration of Saughton Park. At each stage of this process, the children's views made some impact, but this increased over time.

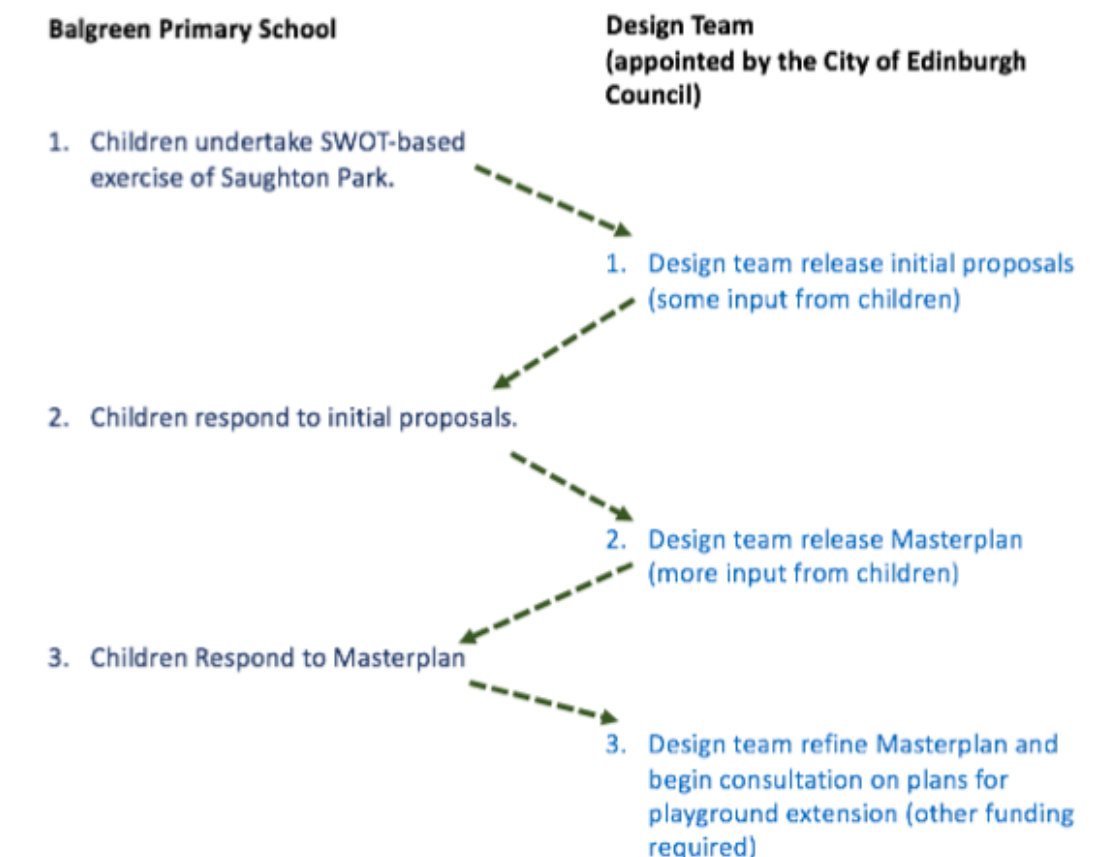


Figure 9.2 The parallel processes of the masterplan development and children's engagement, and how the different stages influenced each other.

To begin, the children started with a blank canvas for their input in a SWOT-based exercise (see chapter five page 100). These initial thoughts centred heavily on wanting a more colourful, natural, and inviting park, as well as facilities such as a café; better public toilets; more playground equipment suited to their age; a skatepark that catered more to their needs; and a greater provision of non-football sporting facilities. I wrote a summary of these views and ideas into a report for officers at the design consultancy, and at the City of Edinburgh Council (Appendix 2). The report was discussed with the project manager at the design consultancy, and they expressed a wish to see some of the children's views realised, but also spoke of the time pressure they were currently under to put together their initial proposals before a consultation in mid-December 2014.

I attended the December consultation event in Saughton Park where the City Council revealed the initial proposals to the public. These showed some, but limited, input of child-specific ideas, but did emphasise certain features from wider community views that correlated with the children's (Figure 9.3). The design team also used a couple of the children's suggestions as examples on some of the posters, such as basketball hoops, and board game tables in the cafe. The design project manager, heritage parks consultant, and project development officer attended this event to talk to the public,

take ideas and answer questions, and display boards gave basic details about the research done on the park's history, current users, and general plans for its restoration. Though the event had plenty of opportunity for the public to be involved, the original plan for the consultation was to have provision for children to get involved, and have some form of Christmas-related activity for them to take part in. However, in the end this did not come to fruition, and I noticed only two children (accompanied) attended the event.

Saughton Park

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Proposals

4.

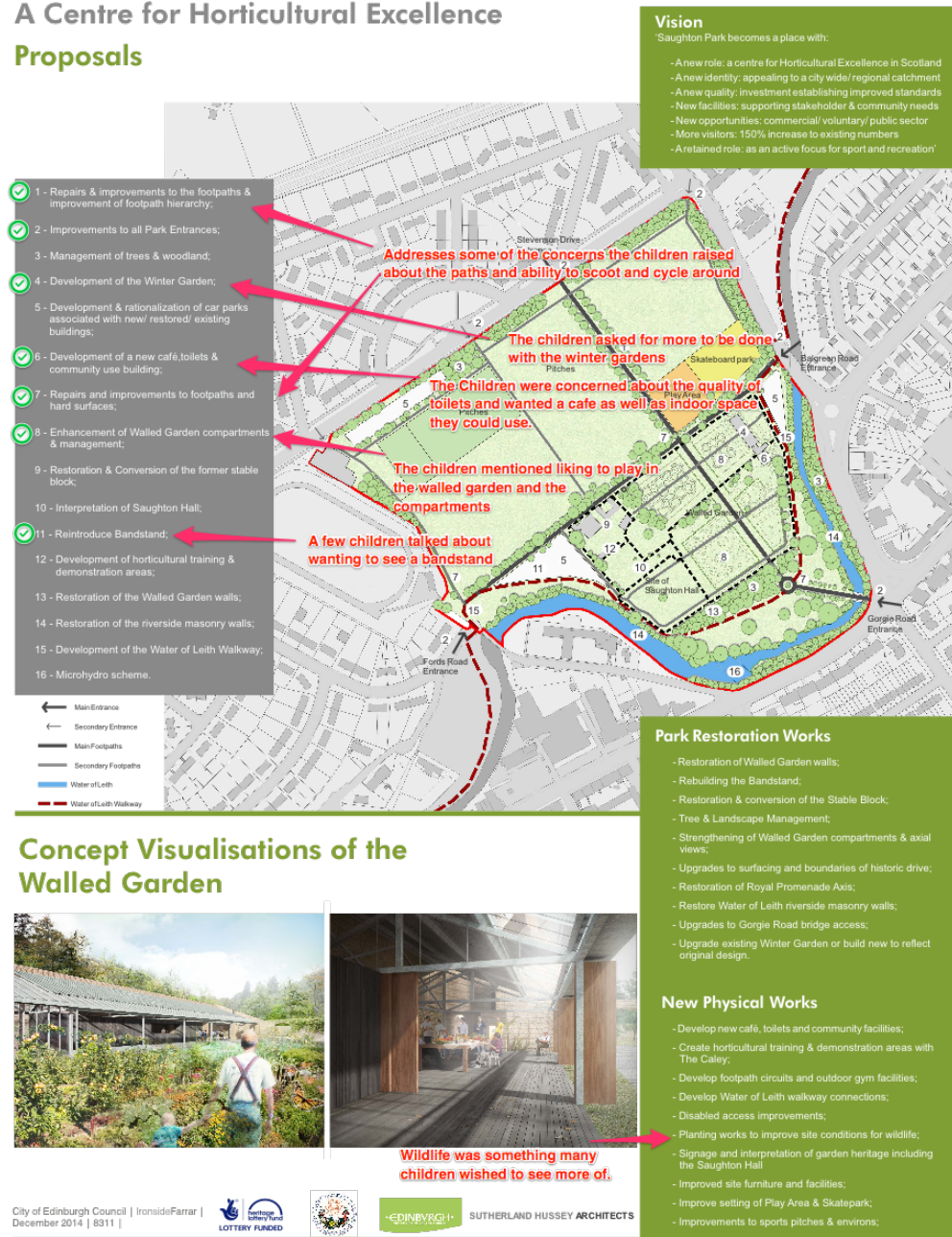


Figure 9.3 A board showing the initial proposals for Saughton Park, which were displayed at the December consultations. I have annotated this to show how the children's were included.

The difficulty of gaining a child's perspective in a development was highlighted by one board which detailed the results of a park observation study (Figure 9.4). This explicitly stated that a high number of 5-15 year olds were observed in the park. It also noted the park was used predominantly by male visitors, even when excluding the sporting provisions. However, upon speaking to an officer that worked on the research study, they revealed that whilst the observations of the park included anybody and everybody researchers could see, the questionnaire element of the research excluded children aged 16 and below. Indeed, the survey and consultation report submitted as part of the bid states:

‘in accordance with the Market Research Society Code of Conduct, no persons under the age of 16 would have been surveyed without the consent of a responsible adult. Combining this with the fact that parents would typically respond on behalf of children in their care or they are unlikely to complete the survey online, this may go some way to explain the zero response rate from those under 16 in the survey.’ (City of Edinburgh Council & Jura Consultants, 2014, p. 2)

This suggests similar difficulties were experienced as those explored in chapters two and four in relation to adults speaking on behalf of children in the general consultations on Saughton Park. The officer that worked on the research went on to state that decision-makers may use market research data to determine public opinion, but often overlook that it rarely includes children.

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3.

Introduction

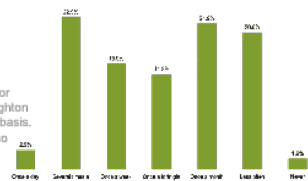
We have been talking to local people and park users about the restoration project and have also conducted a visitor observation study. This has allowed us to gain a better understanding of who using the park and what people would like to see in the future. Some of the key findings are set out here.

Visitor profile

The visitor observation study found that the majority of people using Saughton Park are male, even when use of the football pitches is excluded. The visitor survey found that almost half of those who visit Saughton Park walk to the park and around a third of visitors drive. A large proportion of visitors to the park were observed to be aged between 5 to 15 years old, influenced by the popularity of the sports facilities, play area and skate park.

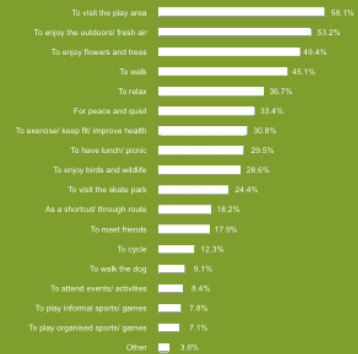
Frequency of use

2 in 5 respondents to the 2014 visitor survey indicated that they visit Saughton Park on a weekly or more frequent basis. The automated people counters also show that the park receives over 460,000 person visits per year.



Reasons for Use

The 2014 visitor survey found that the majority of respondents use Saughton Park to visit the play area and to enjoy the outdoors/ fresh air. We also know from the visitor observation study that playing football and skateboarding are also popular.



Satisfaction

Around two thirds of respondents to the visitor survey stated they were satisfied with Saughton Park. Citywide surveys show that satisfaction with parks and green spaces is lower in the Sighthill / Gorgie ward than elsewhere in the city.



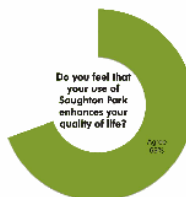
Positive Impact

Almost all respondents felt that Saughton Park has a positive impact on the local community.



Quality of Life

69% of respondents told us that they felt Saughton Park enhances their quality of life.



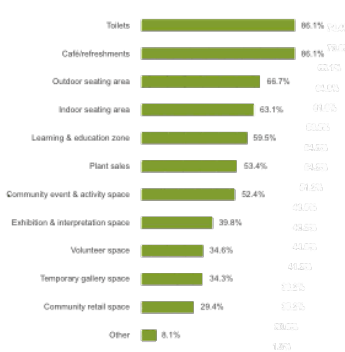
Community Spirit

The visitor survey asked respondents to tell us if they felt there was a good community spirit in the local area. 3 in 5 respondents that live within 1km of Saughton Park agreed that there was good community spirit in the local area.



New Facilities

We asked respondents to tell us what facilities they thought should be considered when we are developing the new master plan for the park. You told us you would like to see improved toilets and a café or refreshment facility.



Activities and Events

Gathering people's views on what types of events and activities they would like to see in the future is vital to the success of the Heritage Lottery Fund bid. We've now got a good idea of the types of things people would like to see in the park.



City of Edinburgh Council | IronsideFarrar | December 2014 | 8311 |



Figure 9.4 A board detailing responses to surveys and consultations so far, displayed at the December Consultation.

9.3.1 Responding to the proposals

I was initially worried about showing the children the proposals, and asking for their feedback. I felt I risked disappointing the classes when I showed them that many of their ideas had not impacted upon the proposals so far. I therefore spent a long time deliberating on how to sensitively reveal this information, whilst emphasising the quality of their views, and the value of their next stage of feedback. In the end, I put together a visual-only power point presentation, where I began by explaining the wide variety of responses they had given me in the previous session. I focused on the points they widely agreed with; compared each class with one another; and shared some of the interesting individual responses they had given (anonymously). Throughout this, the children asked questions and made comments to clarify what I meant, and their thoughts on the matter. I then presented the proposals to the children, firstly highlighting the many types of people that were involved, and the changeable nature of early proposals. I concentrated initially on the areas they had talked about - to highlight what was most likely to interest them - and then proceeded to explain the other aspects of the designs that had little to do with their input. This framed the feedback predominantly in what they knew and were aware of, before moving on to the aspects that may be less relevant to them, and potentially harder to communicate.

I was relieved by the response of the children to the proposals, as they appeared to understand where they had and had not influenced the plans. They asked thoughtful questions and were keen to know whether they could repeat some of the ideas that did not get included in the proposals in their feedback this time. They then responded to the proposals in groups with some detail, often reiterating their initial views of the park, and asking me questions about the potential to influence the design in the future. This experience was an important learning point for me, as I witnessed a surprisingly pragmatic attitude from most of the children, suggesting they were capable of understanding some of the complexity of the community engagement process. Importantly, it may also have helped that the participants had come to know me over the course of the first term of our project, and this attitude of the participants suggests the type of learning and institutional change that Healey (1997) suggests can come through such processes. Indeed, the report (Appendix 3) I sent to the design team about the children's feedback induced a positive response over email at this stage of the process, and suggested future scope to include their views more fully in the masterplan. I also gave the children a second exercise of listing their ideas for events for the park, and thus offered them a chance to participate on matters that would be simpler to enact through the Friends of Saughton Park community group.

9.3.2 The Masterplan

The design team released their proposed masterplan in February 2015. This design (Figure 9.5) more clearly and directly responded to the views of the children more clearly and directly, which eased my concerns at returning to the classes to talk about it. An officer at the City of Edinburgh Council was also keen to point out in interview the areas in which they had taken children into specific consideration. The difficulty I had in the next stage of the children's engagement was therefore in explaining the masterplan in terms they could understand, and not overwhelm them with information. This was a challenge, given the extent of ideas covered in the masterplan, and reminded me how fully envisioning what paper plans mean, and the scale of a development process are difficult, even for adults to consider.

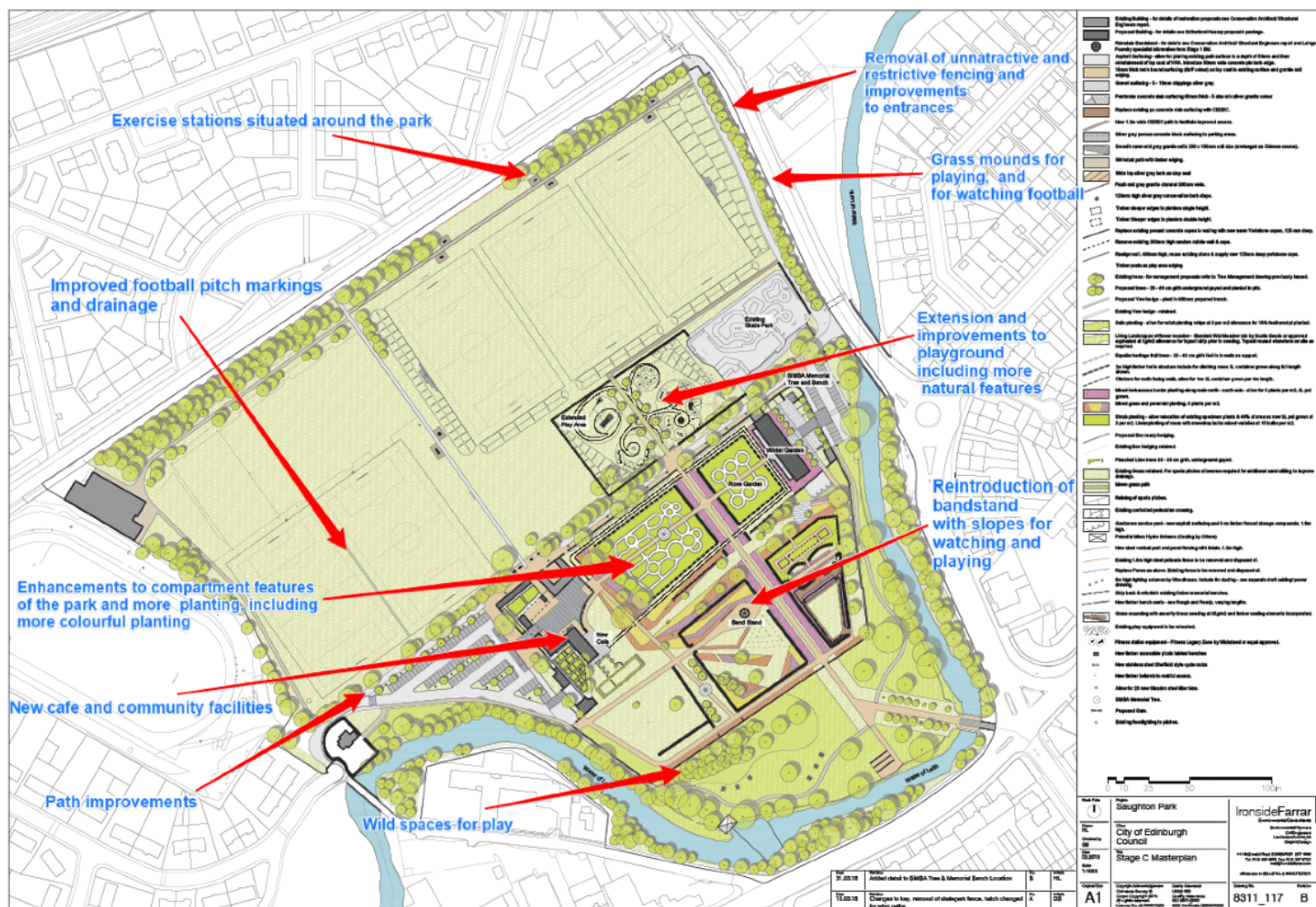


Figure 9.5 An annotated version of the Saughton Park Masterplan to show how the children's views influenced the final design.

Presenting the masterplan to the children, I began by feeding back to the pupils what they had told me they thought of the initial proposals (using a visual-only PowerPoint presentation). I then presented the masterplan elements, beginning with the areas that had been influenced by their feedback. I then detailed the other aspects, focusing on what the initial proposals had said to frame it in what they already knew, so that they could more readily understand the aspects that had now changed. I also gave them a copy of the paper plan to follow as we talked through it, and a colour booklet for each student with child-friendly explanation (Appendix 4). I subsequently asked the children to annotate the masterplan, to which the majority of children showed enthusiasm. I then used these outputs to produce one last report of comments to the City of Edinburgh Council and design team. Ultimately, these responses were received positively, and helped strengthen a case to raise money and produce a masterplan for extension and improvements to the existing playground; something outwith the remit of the HLF bid (The City of Edinburgh Council, 2016).

9.3.3 Evaluation

Figure 9.6 shows how power could be exerted by a range of actors on one another across the Saughton Park restoration process, starting with those at the top of the chain who hold access to funding and set the remit, down to members of the community that never have any direct involvement. I locate my position within this as on the edge of the process, being a member of the Friends of Saughton Park group, facilitating the engagement of children who would not otherwise be involved, but also having privileged access to some of the people that made key decisions about the project. Consequently, I undertook a task and approach that complemented the HLF bid, but was not directly required or asked for. As a result, there was no direct place for me in the hierarchy of actors, but I had more and less influence in different aspects than members of community groups and the general public that were, and were not directly involved. The arrows in Figure 9.6 suggest the most likely direction of the majority of power being exerted, however, I suggest these power relations were less straightforward in my work. This is because I had research autonomy with regard to the data I collected and how, but my own commitment to rights-based, meaningful engagement meant I needed to fit within the timescales of the project, and gather and present data in a format that could have a clear impact. Therefore, I both influenced, and was influenced by my child participants and other actors in the process, and this was arguably more complex than the power exerted between other actors. This also means that with the scope of this doctoral research, the children's views influenced the masterplan, but the extent to which their wishes are met are outside my influence for the masterplan's implementation phase.

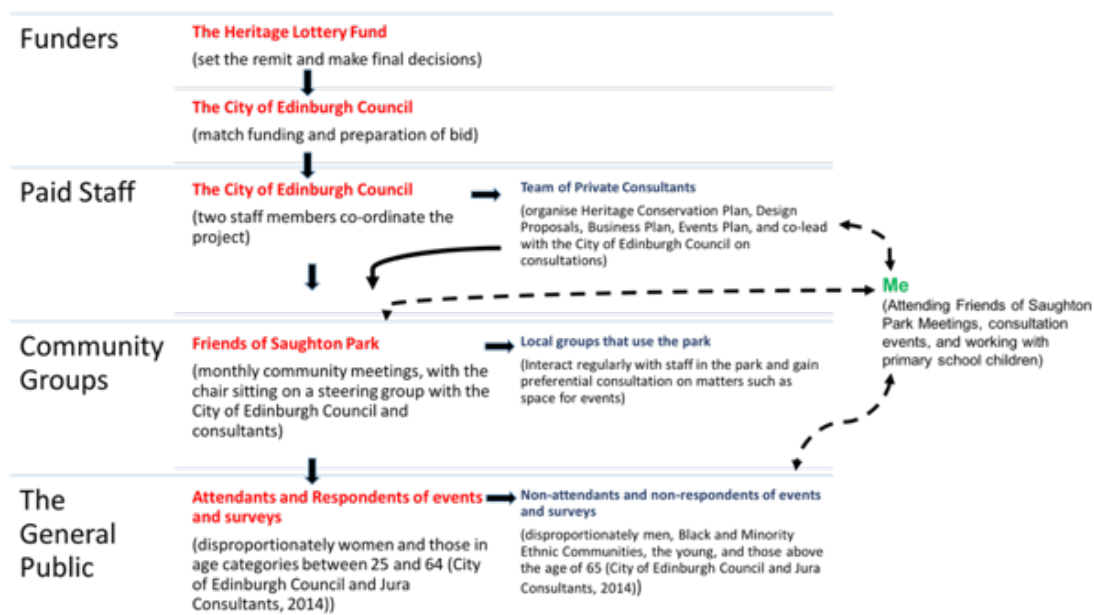


Figure 9.6 the actors involved in the Saughton Park restoration project.

Whilst the children’s views may not have had much influence on the initial design proposals, their views influenced the final masterplan and future direction for the park. Equally important is that in anonymous feedback to me, the children reported enjoying being part of the project. As a result, I believe the children’s involvement in this process reached step 5 on the evaluation model (Figure 9.1) of ‘consulted but informed’, and therefore was meaningful participation. This was the result of engagement methods that appeared suited to most children’s capabilities and interests, but also a result of other actors in the process being receptive to the ideas of the children, which may not be present in every development situation.

The difficulty of listening and communicating with children is highlighted by an officer at the City of Edinburgh Council, who carried out a number of participatory projects in the park with primary school children. These included planting a garden, exploring the archaeological excavations (that took place before designs were drawn up), and using the park for mathematics and art projects. With this, the officer also gained a sense of what some of the children wanted to see in the park in the future, and this undeniably aided my own approach. However, they noted (interview):

‘I don't think anybody's really really good at working with kids and listening to them...kids have, in society, they've got very little power at all... I've got a bit of power. I can make a few decisions about this place so the decisions that I make should be informed by what the kids are telling me... you only get a snapshot. You're not getting a really broad consensus, but what you're doing is you are getting a moment in time for a bunch of kids who are able to make a contribution, have a voice, tell you all the wild things they'd love to be built in the park, but also you're getting an emotion and a sense of what you should do for them’

Moreover, engaging with children in this way can have an eye-opening effect on the reasoning

behind different decisions, and the priorities of different actors in the process. As the interviewed officer stated:

'some of them [children] come out with some great profound stuff, and asked some really fundamental questions about what we were doing and why we were doing it. And challenging as well! "Well why can't we do that?" You know, "we want nice seats under the trees. We want bee hives we can sit inside"... Absolutely fantastic ideas you know, brilliant ideas, and you go "well, of course, we can't do that because that would cost too much; it's not in the budget; they would be vandalised; it would encourage anti-social behaviour". And they were like "yeah, we don't care, we just want the thing we've asked for". And actually that's such a cool thing. I really like that. It's brilliant to be reminded of that. It's all very well having £5 million to spend on something, but keep in the back of your mind, what wee [name of child] said to you back at the beginning... cause it's so easy for adults to go "well that can't happen because of x, y and z"

It is clear therefore that protracted effort is required to include children in development decisions. Thus, in the project both myself and the child participants were fortunate to be linked with a project where influential actors were willing to address complexity, and advocate for the children's wishes. Furthermore, the engagement of children can be a transformational experience for those that carry it out, as the experiences of South Lanarkshire Council illustrate (chapter seven).

Particularly important is that an officer at the City of Edinburgh Council not only supported my endeavours, and shared similar views to me about the importance of listening to children's views on their terms, but also had experience of working with children. They commented (interview):

'I'm community education trained and I've got a big youth work background, so I'm kind of used to that you know, and it's part and parcel of my work, but you know, a different person in the post might take a different approach. They might never have asked the kids, they might, you know, have emailed a questionnaire to the head teacher and just gone "so what do you think?"'

Moreover, it is vital to have people involved in a project that will recognise and justify including the views of children; something that I was not in the position to do. The officer stated (interview):

'it's interesting when you talk to some of my colleagues about putting plants and trees in the children's play area they were like "why do you wanna do that? It just costs money to maintain" I say "well the kids have asked for it... Why shouldn't they?"'

This highlights that, given social norms that dominate adult views of children and the formality of development processes, it takes a range of actors and support to make meaningful use of children's participation. Indeed, the quote indicates the work that still needs to be done in advocating for children as rights holders, and consequently people with ideas that should not be immediately discounted for the concerns of adults. This may serve as a barrier to their involvement in many projects, even if select individuals are fully committed to the process and outcomes of their involvement. Despite this, and as the stories of the officer at the City of Edinburgh Council suggest, I argue that negative attitudes and misunderstandings can be overcome through a mixture of

incremental change, and increased obligations (Shier, 2001; Healey, 1997). However, key to my own experiences and those emerging from interviewees across this research that have engaged with children, is that it is a deeply emotional experience. The problem for planners in engaging more meaningfully with children may therefore be that planners deliberately push emotionality out of community engagement, in favour of focusing on rationally-conceived ‘planning matters’. This is an issue also replicated in planning research, and has led to a dearth of attention in literature to the feelings and values that motivate both planning practitioners, and communities that come into contact with the process (McClymont, 2014; Inch, 2014; Baum, 2015).

9.4 Assessing Play Sufficiency

Whilst the methods presented in the previous sections show ways and insights that planners could use to include children, for these methods to take place there needs to be some imperative to do so (Shier, 2001). One way to bring about a more spatially-focused, rights-respecting approach to the work of local authorities, would be to take a ‘play sufficiency’ approach, as advocated by the UN (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2013). This seeks to assess children’s play opportunities in any given community, and requires the participation of children (including teenagers) in understanding their use of space.

Play Scotland (2012) have introduced a ‘Playing Out Toolkit’ which can already be used by local authorities or community groups to apply this more spatial approach. The toolkit provides a promising and comprehensive strategy to begin thinking about more child-friendly environments, and Play Scotland (interviewee) suggested:

‘it’s being widely used in Scotland. If all local authorities used the toolkit and took an assessment- a base-line assessment say in October every year - we could actually compare and contrast local authorities.’

However, the 89-page document is a serious undertaking, and it suggests:

‘there could be a rolling 3-year programme of assessments undertaking 1:3 [sic] neighbourhoods each year and reporting on these.’ (p. 79)

In this sense, conducting an assessment would have high resource implications for any group, and ultimately, local authorities are in the best position to conduct an assessment. Yet, with no statutory standing and a heavy workload involved, it seems unlikely many would be able to facilitate the appropriate cross-departmental co-operation to further any actions. This could lead to a very

incomplete or patchwork approach to play sufficiency. In contrast, the Welsh Government has taken a statutory approach to planning for play, which could provide international lessons.

The Welsh Government takes a rights-based approach to policy, presenting seven core aims for children and young people that align with the UNCRC. Of these, Core Aim 4 is entitled 'Play, sport, leisure and culture', and focuses on achieving Article 31 (Welsh Government, 2015). As part of this, Wales is the first country in the world to legislate for children's play. Their approach is known as 'the Play Sufficiency Duty', but takes a broad approach to the concept stating "play" includes any recreational activity; and "sufficient", in relation to play opportunities, means sufficient having regard to quantity and quality' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 8). This duty is organised into two parts (see chapter two p.46-49), with the first commencing in November 2012, requiring that each local authority produced a Play Sufficiency Assessment (PSA) in March 2013. This followed extensive guidelines that laid out nine matters for detailed consideration (Play Wales & The Welsh Government, 2012). The second part commenced in July 2014, requiring that 'A local authority must secure sufficient play opportunities in its area for children, so far as reasonably practicable' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 8).

Each local authority PSA was coordinated (predominantly) by children's play teams, so that the 'play leads' managing the process had primary responsibility for the topic of play. The Welsh Government were deliberately a little vague about the concept of play sufficiency, so that individual local authorities could determine how best to measure it in their community. This lack of clarity was met with mixed feelings from those coordinating the process in different local authorities. However, the three play leads interviewed for this project agreed that it has helped them develop an approach that worked in their own context, and Dr Wendy Russell and Dr Stuart Lester expound on the trials and tribulations of this experimental policy approach in their two assessments of the process so far, and in interviews I carried out with each (Russell & Lester, 2013, 2014).

To meet the matters laid out in the PSA toolkit (Play Wales & The Welsh Government, 2012), it was essential to work with a range of other partners in the public and voluntary sectors. This included departments not traditionally associated with children's play, and that have been difficult for play teams to engage with in the past (Russell & Lester, 2013). Whilst this presented some challenges, Play Wales (interviewee) suggested:

'overwhelmingly people within those other departments actually welcomed the opportunity to contribute... they didn't see it as being an overwhelming process for them because they could see how being part of this responded to different things that they should be doing'

For instance:

‘there is a huge drive towards walking and cycling initiatives and safe routes and slowing traffic down, so it immediately ticked some boxes for transport. Same with open space planning... local authorities as part of Planning Policy Wales should be developing Open Space Assessments, as part of their LDPs [Local Development Plans]¹ they should be considering children's play- so they could see where these links were being made.’

The local authority interviewees corroborated this, and as the play lead at Local Authority C (interview) relayed:

‘I would like to think that the agenda has gone beyond me, because there's so many other people and service areas that are involved with this, and some of these service areas have even taken forward pieces of this work themselves’

This illustrates that the Play Sufficiency Duty has helped draw different local authority agendas together, both combining play with existing elements of work, and progressing new ideas.

An important element of the national and local experience of the duty has been drawing links between play and planning departments. In reference to planners, Play Wales (interviewee) expounded:

‘they were probably the sector that most saw “OK this isn't a new piece of work; this isn't additional work I've got to do. I've just got to do something differently” ... overwhelmingly of all of the sectors I think most play officers would say that planners were the easiest to actually engage with’

This view was shared by local authority interviewees, with the Local Authority A play lead (interview) in particular describing the role that collaboration had on their relationship with a planning colleague:

‘Through that process we really came to understand each other's language better and realise that actually what [they were] saying as a planner wasn't that different to what I was saying as a playworker’

From developing this relationship, the play lead felt the planner was willing to help spread the message of a child's right to play, and was better placed to communicate the message to other planners. This shows evidence of an altering of attitudes towards children's use of space that can help shape planning policy and practice in the future, potentially leading to institutional change (Healey, 1997).

¹ Local development plans (LDPs) and supplementary planning guidance (SPGs) serve a similar purpose to their namesakes in Scotland. LDPs hold greater weight than SPGs, but local authorities can use guidance as a material consideration in determining decisions. National policy in Wales comes in Planning Policy Wales (Welsh Government, 2016) and the Wales Spatial Plan (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008). These are similar in scope to the National Planning Framework and Scottish Planning Policy (Cave et al., 2013).

Interviews for this project, and Russell and Lester's (2013, 2014) investigations, report promising signs that upcoming local development plans– across Wales will help facilitate play sufficiency. Presently, this is hard to assess, as each local authority is in a different stage of plan development. However, Table 9.2 shows there are outputs from several planning authorities that illustrate an increasing focus on play as more than a discrete activity. These changes suggest that the legislative approach is encouraging both a change of attitudes amongst planners, and upcoming strategies that can begin positively affecting children's space to play. Indeed, the extensive study of Local Authority A yielded findings that have formed the basis of further academic study on what makes a place play- sufficient (Hartshorne, 2015; Long, 2015).

Table 9.2 Planning-related outputs from Welsh local authorities since the instigation of the Play Sufficiency Duty.

Local Authorities	Output
Local Authority A (interviewed)	The Play Lead (interview) believed the upcoming local development plan will include a greater focus on play than current local planning policy.
Local Authority B (interviewed)	The planning department issued a piece of supplementary planning guidance on residential design that gives detailed instructions on how developers should consider children's play. This includes a new process for using the Children's Play Team as consultants on playground location and design. They have also developed a collaborative group between several departments, including play and planning to push for more shared spaces within the local authority area.
Local Authority C (interviewed)	The Countryside Services department has bid for Big Lottery Funding to develop a coastal path. The data collected during the PSA revealed there were poor play opportunities in the area, and coupled with high levels of deprivation, strengthened the local authority's case for funding.
Local Authority D	A policy in their proposed local development plan was devoted to children's play, and included a hierarchy of provision that prioritised informal open space and streets more heavily than standard planning policy. In the approved local development plan this is absent, but it does mention informal play opportunities as an important provision a number of times. It also suggests the planning department will release updated supplementary planning guidance on open space provision that gives more direction on how to safeguard children's play.
Local Authority E	The planning department has developed a piece of supplementary planning guidance on open space provision in new residential developments. This includes detailed guidance on providing space for play, focusing on a range and variety of spaces that moves beyond fixed equipment playgrounds.

The playwork sector in Wales has overwhelmingly welcomed the Play Sufficiency Duty. Though not

all local authorities have forged collaborative relationships between play and planning², the experiences of those that have are promising. If the momentum built up in the first PSA process can be maintained, then there is a chance of more positive outcomes from the next round (March 2016). It appears that the child-focused, rights-based approach of the Welsh Government is beginning to affect services not traditionally focused on children, and helping to further academic and practical understanding of what a child's right to play looks like at the neighbourhood level. This suggests the beginning of, and potential for wider institutional change in Wales, particularly with the support that Play Wales provides through facilitating connections for local authorities; offering advice; co-ordinating regional meetings; and convening national conferences. This contrasts with Scotland's voluntary approach to improving children's play opportunities, and suggests that legislation is the tool most able to affect a reverse in children's declining outdoor activity.

9.5 Comparing Scotland and Wales

Partnership working between play and planning are not perfect in either country, yet key differences in how each government structures their approach is affecting how likely, and how much planning considers children's play. The Scottish Government takes an outcomes-based approach to policy, whilst the Welsh Government takes a rights-based approach. This means that in Scotland children's play should help meet broader outcomes such as increasing physical activity and improving health, but in Wales, it should primarily serve Article 31 of the UNCRC. Related to this, in Scotland there is no obligation on planning authorities to consider a child's right to play. In Wales however, it is unlawful for planning authorities to not help 'secure sufficient play opportunities in its area for children, so far as reasonably practicable' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 8).

Drawing on Kyttä's (2004) Fields of Action model (chapter two, p.41-42), the Scottish Government's strategy arguably focuses on increasing the 'field of promoted action' for children's play, but does not address the constraining effect of the planning system in its wider actions. On the other hand, the Welsh approach attempts to reduce the 'field of constrained action', increase the 'field of promoted action', and in so doing increase the size of the 'field of free action', where children can pick their own play experiences. Over time, this means that in Wales, space and attitudes that promote play seem more likely to increase and improve the general child-friendliness

² I interviewed a planning officer at one further local authority in Wales. They stated the planning department gave information at the start of the process, largely by providing their open space assessment to the play department. Someone in the planning department also checked over the draft PSA, but no planner was otherwise involved. See also Russell & Lester (2013, 2014) where they discuss some of the differences in approach between local authorities.

of the environment, but in Scotland, the planning system is likely to continue planning only for a fixed view of what children need. This is not adequate to address the trend in children's declining independent mobility (Shaw et al., 2015).

The interviewee from Play Scotland worried that the culture of children mostly playing indoors will be hard to change, particularly with an upcoming generation that never played out themselves. Yet in Wales, it seems that acknowledging and giving adults the freedom to understand play in a less fixed way, and not as a discrete problem to deal with, may enable planners and other professionals to take a more facilitative approach to children's spatial needs. Indeed, Russell and Lester (2013, p. 59) found 'The statutory nature of the Duty has proved to be a prime motivational factor in extending partnership working'. Meanwhile, between the commencement of the first and second stage of the statutory duty, much of the partnership working in the local authorities they examined had strengthened (Russell & Lester, 2014).

In Scotland, a myriad of policy, strategies, guidelines and frameworks, shown in Figure 9.7, guide how the public sector approaches children's play. This means the links between policy areas and initiatives are not always clear, and planners may receive confusing messages about planning for play. Indeed, the Scottish Government frames statutory, national planning policy as primarily economic, whilst policies related to play are primarily social. This makes certain economic considerations compulsory, but leaves many social considerations voluntary (chapter eight). This means planners and elected representatives are less likely to consider or enforce them. In contrast, Wales presents legislation that requires local authorities to take a more nuanced approach to children's play. In terms of Shier's (2001) pathways to participation model, this now makes children's participation an external-obligation on local authorities, whilst in Scotland an obligation can only come from planners placing it upon themselves. This does not necessarily mean planners take a proactive role, but evidence presented here shows some planning authorities are altering their understanding of children's play needs. Figure 9.7 shows how the process of considering children's play in planning is thus more direct in Wales than in Scotland. This means that whether or not national planning policy in Wales supports a child's right to play, local planning policy must, and it is here that direct change in the attitudes of planners and provision of space is most likely.

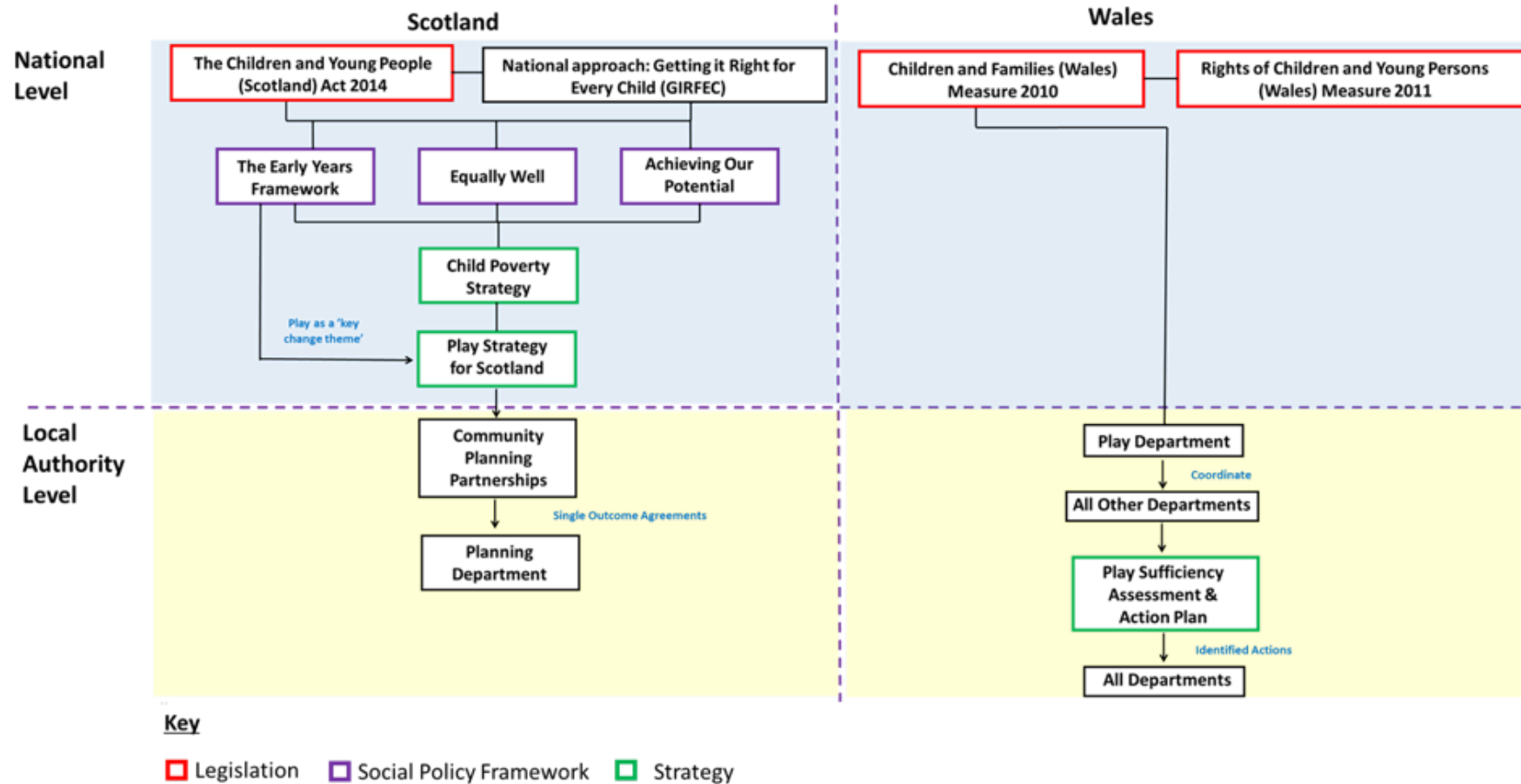


Figure 9.7 How legislative and policy frameworks in Wales and Scotland are expected, by their respective governments, to affect local authority planning departments

9.6 Participation in place and process

Whilst policy may often address specific rights in isolation, the right of children to participate in decision-making is a key theme of rights-based approaches to children's play. The Play Sufficiency approach draws on this interlinking nature, and shows a willingness of those in the play sector to ensure they meet their commitments to all aspects of children's lives. In the case of Play Scotland's 'Getting it Right for Play toolkit' (Play Scotland, 2012) and Play Wales's Play Sufficiency Duty guidance toolkit (Play Wales & The Welsh Government, 2012), children's participation in the process is a key aspect and aim in itself. Whilst this is a worthwhile aim in meeting children's rights, it can become problematic when adult views, attitudes and language are taken into account. For instance:

'I wouldn't consult children about play. I'm not a great believer in consulting children about play. Just as I wouldn't consult with adults about love.... How do you articulate something which is something that kids just do? And when adults ask about play, children go into a mode of thinking about activity. So if you said to a child "what do you like playing?" they couldn't say "I like just walking down the street and not stepping on the cracks" and you know, those trivial everyday things that just help life to go on. So what they say is "I like playing football", or "I like doing this, I like doing this."'

(Dr Stuart Lester, interview)

This type of consultation can inadvertently play to the dominant views and agendas of adults. For this reason, Dr Stuart Lester (interview) proposed:

'We don't have to go and ask them it. "Why are you walking from here?" or "why are you playing there?" or "what do you do?". I think there is a need to find out what might be missing, but this wish-list they give to children, you know, "what would you like in this area?" again takes them back into, it's like... they're like planners. It's like "we need a slide and we need this and we need this". I think it comes back to that different appreciation of what play and space is and it's mundane, ordinary, everyday stuff. It relies on movement.'

Instead:

'we can encourage children to participate in thinking about the environments that they live in and there was one local authority that did some really detailed work with children about maps and going on guided walks with children. "So tell me about what you do", and just over a period of time. Not these nasty surveys or questionnaires for children.'

This approach is similar to how Aberdeen City Council and South Lanarkshire Council have already approached children's participation in decision making (chapter seven). Indeed, the methods I conducted, and methods such as Children's tracks (Barnetråkk, 2015; Aradi, 2010) and SoftGIS (Kahila & Kytä, 2009) follow this model, focusing on the environment of childhood without necessarily asking specific questions about play. This, along with the myriad of existing evidence on

children's use of space shows that further consultation is not always necessary to make effective policy (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013). However, the way children use and perceive space, particularly in the local context is important for understanding the intricacies of policy implementation, and making children's participation meaningful. Nevertheless, it may also be pertinent to question who should consult with children and/or who is best placed to aid planners in a quest to involve children and their views.

9.7 Collaborating for participation

To create a more emancipatory and rights-respecting understanding and language of play (in its broadest terms), Russell and Lester (2013) suggest play can best be provided for when it is recognised as 'an act of co-creation that emerges opportunistically from an assemblage of interdependent and interrelated factors' (Russell & Lester, 2013, p. 12). To do this, they suggest a much wider approach to analysing and understanding children's play than simply asking children about it. They term this co-assemblage of knowledge and ideas as 'collective wisdom':

'which is about everybody has something, everybody knows things in a different way, and it's about gathering that collective wisdom in different ways. So you can read the literature, you can draw on your own experience, you can use intuition, you can use stories, and gathering, gathering information in an ethical way about children's ideas about their local environments' (Dr Wendy Russell, Interview)

This approach to both children's and adult's views and experiences is helpful in conceptualising children's spatial and decision-making participation as inextricably linked. It also encourages adults to think critically about what they do and do not know about children and their lives.

In the Welsh context with the PSA process, some local authorities already knew a lot about children's play opportunities due to the amount of data and consultations they had already run because:

'it's been such a mega thing about consulting children and young people in Wales that they're just consulted over absolutely everything. There must be massive consultation fatigue amongst the children and young people, and, and cynicism I would have thought because that very rational straight-forward question and answer way of consulting is, you know, at its worst is a kind of consumer survey.' (Dr Wendy Russell, Interview)

With this, local authorities can adjust what they do and do not ask children and in what context. It allows future consultation and participation to have a meaningful purpose rather than to be carried out for its own sake, and does not require participating children to be beacons of information for all

needs in their age group. For instance, the classes I worked with included significantly more boys than girls, a higher proportion of non-white students than the Edinburgh average, and only one visibly disabled child (in one exercise). Was I to use this sample as representative of the views and perceptions of children across Edinburgh, I would be missing the wider picture of the varying understandings and issues that different children bring forward. However, by using existing evidence alongside it, I have been able to ascertain a better picture of how those children's views may fit with the wider trends and patterns across the city, country and internationally. Understanding these patterns is as vital a part of planning for children's needs as learning to speak with individual groups of children, and more likely to bring forward approaches that will work in children's favour (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013). This would entail treating consultation with the public as part of wider evidence-gathering exercises, and not purely a procedural necessity.

In coordinating the participation of children in decision-making, another advantage of the cross-departmental approach of the Play Sufficiency Duty is that planners can gain direct support from those who are accustomed to working with children. This could mean that playworkers help train planners in the skills of working with primary school children, or that they can consult on the planners' behalf, utilising their skills and allowing planners to focus on interpreting (rather than collecting) data. This approach would allow both sectors to meet their aims of advancing the environmental experiences of children; play to their individual strengths; and ensure the meaningful tenet of children's participation is always upheld.

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter has suggested methods for involving primary school children in planning, with an evaluation of their advantages and disadvantages, and the wider conditions at play. It has also suggested a methodology in the form of the Play Sufficiency Duty. Combined, these may help form a planning system that is more conducive to the rights of children, and understanding where knowledge exists on their use of space, and how to access it. This can help bridge the gap that planners envisage between talking to adults and talking to children, and also obligates them to think about children's rights as inextricably linked and related to their everyday practice.

Analysing the emerging practices from the Play Sufficiency Duty in Wales has provided an interesting perspective on an alternative way to bring about spatial outcomes for children. This suggests a change in attitudes for some planners, as well as tangible changes to policy and practice

for some local authorities. With playworkers, as advocates for the child's right to play leading much of the process, it has strong strategic potential to develop innovative, locally-focused approaches and outcomes for children. Through Russell and Lester's (2013, 2014) concept of collective wisdom, the knowledge of planners, other service professionals and children themselves can contribute to an approach that values each for their expertise, and is amenable to the aims of collaborative planning (Healey, 1997). Through this, practices such as involving playworkers in planning participation can improve the work of both, and reduce the burden of each. I now move to the final chapter of this thesis to draw out the key findings, observations and lessons to answer the research questions set out in chapter one.

Chapter Ten: Providing Children the Space to Participate

This thesis is a novel piece of work that has explored how children's participation rights, as denoted by the UNCRC, are often unknown and misunderstood across sectors of public governance and administration. This disregard for children's rights is part of a wider problem of a lack of recognition of children as independent human beings across social, and political spheres. The two rights this thesis has focused on are Article 12 ('respect for the views of the child') framed as the right to participate in the decision-making process, and Article 31 ('the right to play') framed as the right to participate in everyday life, in the realm of middle childhood (age 6-12).

By combining literatures that have previously been explored only in isolation, and by engaging in innovative methods, the previous chapters have built a picture of both the theoretical and practical approaches that could be used to further the case of children's inclusion in town planning. This chapter presents how the study has contributed to knowledge; an overview of the thesis; and answers the research questions presented in chapter one. I subsequently explore the impact, limitations, and areas for future research arising from the study.

10.1 Contribution to Knowledge

This research contributes to a better understanding of the different spatial needs children have compared to adults; clarified some of the reasons for children's exclusion; and presented some suggestions for change in both the direction of planning practice, and research. It has done this by combining subjects that have not before been examined in tandem. For instance, whilst planning with and for children is not a completely new area of research, it remains underexplored, and there is a dearth of literature that relates the field of childhood studies with planning. This is particularly true in the UK and Scotland-specific context, as much of the existing research base originates in other northern European countries. In relation to development of theory, I have used participatory planning theories (Forester, 1989, 1999; Healey, 1997) and their Habermasian associations (Habermas, 1990), to address some of the issues that arise in children's participation literature. This is important, as whilst childhood and children's rights studies acknowledge the gap that exists

between how adults approach children's participation, and what meaningful participation should look like, there is little attention to how the theory of deliberative democracy implicitly frames children. This is important when looking at public services, such as planning, that do not solely rely on representative democracy to understand the views of the public, but attempt to proactively engage with a range of actors through deliberative means. Indeed, relating literature that explores how other groups are marginalised by political processes to the exclusion of children, helps highlight how even studies of difference presume actors to be adults (Sandercock, 1998; Young, 2000; Kulynych, 2001; Gillespie, 2013).

By drawing on Foucauldian insights developed independently in childhood and planning literature, I have suggested that combining both brings greater clarity in how societal views of children exclude them from participation in public life, and in decision-making processes. For this reason, this research makes a contribution to literature on childhood by bringing in a planning perspective, but also contributes to planning research, by bringing in the perspective of childhood studies. This reveals where and how planning can tend towards adultism; exclude groups it strives to include; and emphasises the case for a dual focus on process and outcome when it comes to community engagement. This has helped to address Gillespie's (2013) call to write children into planning theory, and suggests a way forward that may be more inclusive of the variety of needs planners strive to meet in their pursuit of the public good. With this, bringing children into planning theory also highlights the tendency for planners to exclude emotion from their practice, and how this can be detrimental in understanding the priorities of the communities they involve in the process (Inch, 2014; Baum, 2015). This drawing together of literatures and experiences provides scope for future collaboration between these fields of study and attention to the interplay of social, political, and spatial exclusion of children.

I have further contributed to the field of planning by drawing on, and adapting methods of children's participation that are not common place in the Scottish planning system, and relate to issues not generally explored by childhood-researchers. In balancing academic pursuit and practicality, I have contributed through ethnography and participatory action research, to a greater understanding of what is, and is not, achievable in the planning process. Furthermore, I have brought about insights that may abate some of the fears professionals interviewed in this study suggested planners may have in engaging children, particularly those of primary school age.

Through the ethnographic study, interviews with professionals, and critical discourse analysis, I have developed a critique of policy in Scotland, that shows the lack of connection between policy agendas that address citizen participation in planning, and those that address the rights and wellbeing of children. This has suggested that even well-meaning professionals may struggle to take

a holistic approach to planning for children if they work in silos. In addition, by examining the Welsh Government's approach to providing play opportunities for children, I have suggested how policy could become more collaborative in Scotland and draw greater attention to the needs of (and outcomes for) children.

10.2 Key Findings and Observations

The contributions detailed in the previous section have evolved throughout this thesis in pursuit of answering three research questions introduced in chapter one. These were:

1. What opportunities and challenges do children's rights present for urban planning?
2. How does the spatial structure of an area affect children's abilities to participate in everyday public life?
3. What methods can effectively facilitate a rights-respecting approach to children's participation in planning processes, and its outcomes?

Through an introduction to the Saughton Park case study in Edinburgh, chapter one then set forth how I would investigate each research question, and was followed by chapters two to four which explored the different areas of literature on the topic of children's participation in planning. This began in chapter two with the formation of the new sociology of childhood, addressing the evolution of ideas of children's agency, and how this plays out in understanding children's abilities to participate in decision-making, and in everyday life. Chapter three then moved on to explore planning theory, and particularly focusing in communicative planning theory; collaborative planning; and the existing research on children and planning across the world. Chapter four advanced this review by introducing political theory to address the gaps in understanding and implementation that arise from a child, or planning-only focus on participation.

Drawing on the theory of Habermas's (1990) communicative action, the literature review in chapter four explored the idea of communicative competence that pervades communicative planning theory (Forester, 1989), and has caused previous researchers to call into question its appropriateness in facilitating wide and varied participation (Young, 2000). Most prominent in this discussion, is that those leading the process determine the norms and ideals of participation, and in the case of children, this has a strong effect in suggesting that their views are not valid or legitimate (Kulynych, 2001). Of particular concern, is the absence of discussions of power from much of the underlying theory of deliberative democracy. Richardson & Flyvbjerg (2002) progress this critique through the introduction of Foucault's governmentality into planning discussion. Similarly, childhood scholars have used Foucault's genealogy and governmentality to uncover the history of the dominant view of

childhood, and what this means for their participation in decision-making, and in everyday life (Smith, 2014; Kallio, 2008, 2012; Skelton, 2010; Gallagher, 2004, 2008a; Kulynych, 2001; Lee, 2001). Combining these with the potentially non-emancipatory approach of empowerment agendas (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Cruikshank, 1999), suggests why children are often excluded from planning research and practice. Use of Foucault's governmentality, and his spatial theory of heterotopia, can help bring children more clearly into the forum, by understanding the dominance that adults often unconsciously manifest upon children's views and needs (Gillespie, 2013; Foucault, 1986, 1991a). I consequently established an evaluation framework that brings childhood, planning, and Foucauldian understandings together (Planning Aid for Scotland, 2014; Hart, 1992; Foucault, 1986, 1991a) which I used to analyse my empirical findings later on.

Chapter five set out the methodology and methods of the fieldwork. It presented a critical participatory, ethnographic action research approach, that investigated the three areas of children's relationship to planning:

- their relationship to place;
- involvement in the processes of planning; and
- in planning policy.

I conducted this through classroom research with 60 children between the ages of 9 and 12 at Balgreen primary school in Edinburgh, which involved their participation in exploring their local area, and becoming involved in the Saughton Park restoration project. I also carried out semi-structured interviews with key players in the park masterplan process; professionals involved in children's participation in planning; representatives of children's rights organisations in Scotland; and a selection of play professionals in Wales. The final part of the methods was to carry out critical discourse analysis of Scottish policies, and then extend this to explore the impact of the new Play Sufficiency Duty in Wales (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010). This chapter reflected on my own position through the research process; the ethics of involving adult and child participants; and my own impact on the research field. Having examined the research background and approach, I moved on to explore my empirical findings in chapters six to nine.

Through linking the literature reviews with fieldwork, it became clear that several common barriers exist for children's participation, in both everyday life (Article 31) and the process of planning (Article 12). Most striking is that:

- Adults often fear and/or lack an understanding of children;
- Older children's use of space can interfere with younger children's use of space;
- The existing structure of space can limit children's mobility; and
- The planning system and wider governance are not well-placed to instil children's participation into policy and practice.

Ultimately, much of this can be framed through the gaps in time, space and attitudes that would support children's participation, and this is conceptualised in Figure 10.1. This shows how the attitudes of planners, and other professionals that influence planning practice, can affect, and be affected by existing space. Meanwhile, the space that children have to roam can affect the attitudes that planners and other adults have toward their presence in it (Long, 2015; Barclay & Tawil, 2013). With this, the time that children have for outdoor exploration can be indirectly reduced, but also the metaphorical time and space that planners have to consider children's meaningful participation in the process.

Time to participate in place can be indirectly influenced by the structure of space. It may make some spaces quick to get to, and others not, so that children have less time to interact with the outdoors.

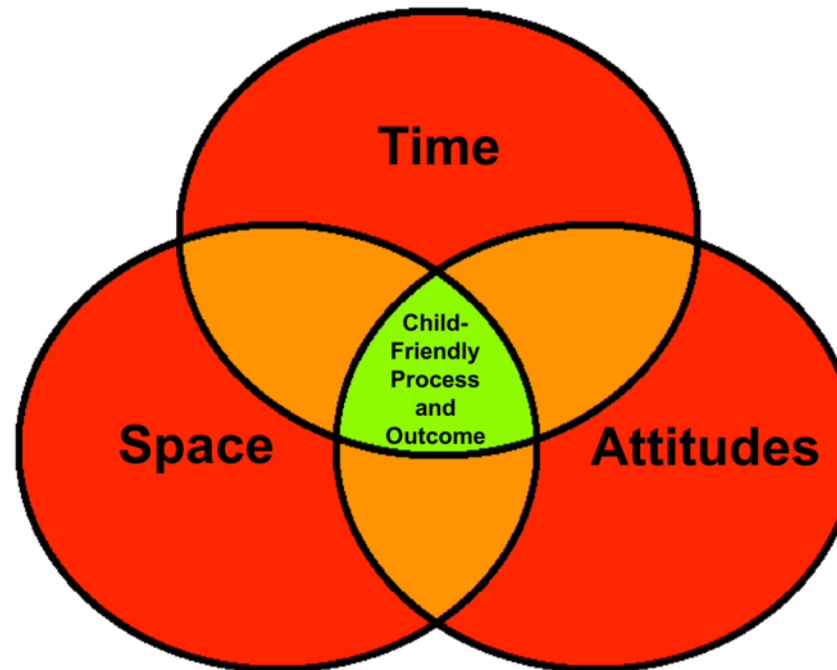
Time to participate in process can be influenced by the demands that planners and children have on their time. For planners this could be other requirements of their work, and for children this could be the educational demands of school.

Space to participate in place is affected by:

- existing space;
- its distribution;
- planning policy; and
- policy implementation.

Space can also affect the attitudes of children and other adults towards their outdoor endeavours.

Space to participate in process is affected by the emphasis of involving children across the profession, and the skills of and support for planners to involve children in their work.



Attitudes of planners affect:

- the policy development process;
- policy itself; and
- the implementation of policy.

However, the attitudes of planners may be influenced by existing policy. This can have an affect on both participation rights, as it underlies their overall approach to their work.

Figure 10.1 How time, space and attitudes affect children's use of space and the ability of planners to involve them in the process (based on Wrexham County Borough Council, 2014)

With this interconnected web of attitudes, space and time, comes a cycle whereby the lack of children in public space erodes the casual experiences that adults may have with children, and thus they may become increasingly unaware or intolerant of them (Kulynych, 2001). With this pattern, the idea of, and involvement of children and information about them in planning decisions can become increasingly alien for planners to consider (Cele & van der Burgt, 2013a). This can perpetuate the myth that planning is really an adult service, and that any necessary needs of children can be understood through the perceptions of adults alone (Wood, 2015). These undoubtedly relate to other wider systems and processes, but if planners could affect some of these issues themselves, then they can help instil a greater facilitation of children's rights. What is therefore required is potential ways to move to more positive approaches to children; predominantly tackled through the attitudes of planning professionals, and the availability of space that children can access, use and enjoy.

Key to the findings from chapter six, and reiterating the findings of other studies, is that whilst adult decision-makers may focus on safe space to play, and sports provision, children need to be able to navigate through these spaces, feel safe within them, and for their parents to support their outdoor exploration (Lester et al., 2008). Despite this, children remain creative and find heterotopias even where adults may not expect them. This allows children to play even when there are restrictions in their use of space, time and attitudes. For instance, one local authority play lead in Wales (interview) reflected:

'I don't think we really give kids credit for how good they are in finding time and space for play. So my feeling is it's like look how much they can do in spite of what we do to them, so imagine what they could do if we actually supported them.'

A Foucauldian view of the flows and networks of power, suggest planners can find ways to reduce dominance if they become aware of their own tendencies (Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002). Thus, if planners and the planning system can become more enabling for children, then children can be trusted to create their own spaces to participate. For instance, whilst Saughton Park provides a large space for play and recreation in the Edinburgh case study, it is not accessible to children that live more than a short distance away, and many open spaces in the area have ambiguous access, or are completely inaccessible. Similarly, developers siphon off vacant and derelict land until they wish to build on it (see figure 6.22, page 164). Yet, the needs of children could be served easily and cheaply if this land was left open or adapted for children's play. This does not necessitate a complex understanding of children's play habits, but for planners to simply safeguard space that is already available.

Including wider social attitudes and the effect planning may have on them, Figure 10.1 also helps

conceptualise how the attitudes of adults, teenagers and younger children can be in conflict, and reduce the time and space for all children to participate. In particular, teenagers are more likely than younger children to challenge adult norms of how to act in public space, often leading both adults and younger children to demonise them (Matthews et al., 1998; chapter six). This puts them in a contentious position, as teenagers are often aware of the fears others have about them, and often feel a sense of injustice themselves (Harden, 2000). This highlights how planners can only create places for younger children by simultaneously addressing the needs of older children. Similarly, the term ‘play’ is often conceived in a narrow sense, as something only young children do, and thus excludes the wider leisure and cultural experiences to which Article 31 refers (IPA, 2013). Such barriers are important to overcome as an approach to planning that is friendly to younger children must also be friendly to older children to reduce conflict; promote tolerance; and plan for the public interest. Whilst teenagers may increasingly be heard in the planning process (chapter seven), their access to leisure and cultural opportunities is often socially and spatially restricted (Matthews, 2001).

Although governmentality and heterotopia are useful theories for conceptualising what needs to happen for children to participate, neither theory is intended to be directive. Instead, they shed light on the dominating tendencies of those with access to technologies of power, and the different relationships that people can have with the same place. Therefore, in envisioning practical solutions Healey’s (1997) collaborative planning becomes appropriate. For instance, chapter seven showed that involving teenagers in the process of planning may influence the way planning and consultation are done over time. Institutional change was especially evident in the work of South Lanarkshire Council, over the course of 10 years’ engagement. The problem comes in relation to knowledge of, and skills in, engaging with children, particularly in the primary school age category. Meanwhile, chapter eight showed a lack of collaboration and join-up between policy and approaches that affect children’s participation in place, and planning approaches. Notionally, these links would be fostered by Community Planning Partnerships, and tools such as the Place Standard (Architecture & Design Scotland et al., 2015), however, the evidence suggests it is important to be sceptical of their ability to facilitate the sorts of networks and collaboration likely to be required to address children’s rights (Matthews, 2014; Park & Kerley, 2011). Thus, planners need both methods through which to involve children in the process, and a methodology that can encourage sustained and constructive collaboration between those that affect children’s lives.

To suggest practical solutions, chapter nine proposed planners and the planning system could better facilitate children’s participation if it collaborates with other professionals and services, and if the Scottish Government instils a policy measure that requires planners to facilitate children’s participation in place and process. With this, my ethnographic description of the process of involving primary school children in the Saughton Park restoration process (chapter nine) indicates

some of the methods planners could use, and also some of the considerations and emotions that planners need to be equipped with to undertake. The findings of this thesis have thus spanned empirical insights and theoretical understandings, to then provide tentative space for the increased participation of children in planning. I turn now to answer the research questions presented in chapter one.

10.3 What opportunities and challenges do children's rights present urban planning?

It has become clear that the principles of the UNCRC provide important opportunities for planning, but are problematic to implement in the context of the current Scottish planning system. Paramount to this, is understanding that the dominant theories of planning and planning practice systematically exclude children. This appears to be the result of a complex interplay of factors that have led to a general social understanding of children as incomplete, and lacking in the competence to participate socially, spatially and politically. Foucauldian views and methodologies suggest how this has come to be, and can consequently help planning break away from the dominant view (Richardson & Flyvbjerg, 2002).

The UNCRC, whilst often unknown to service professionals and wider society, does provide an important impetus to consider children. Indeed, international rights commitments potentially hold greater political saliency than general commitments to the wellbeing of children. For instance, the rights based approach of the Welsh Government instils a greater focus on children's environmental needs than the Scottish Government's outcomes-based approach (chapters eight and nine). Therefore, if the UNCRC is used as an instrument for furthering the political case for children's rights, or in Foucauldian terms as a technology of power, adults can bring children into the process of planning. The findings of chapters six to nine also suggest that adult professionals are open to the ideas entailed in the UNCRC, but may not initially understand what it means for their work. However, if it is presented to them in terms that do hold relevance for their daily practice, then they are more likely to see it as part of what they should already be doing, and not necessarily an abstraction that holds weight only in children's services.

To bring the UNCRC into planning practice, it may be more significant to relate its principles to the concept of the child friendly city, which holds specific aspirations for spatial processes and

outcomes (page 55). The principles set out by the UN (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2004) and the European Network of Child Friendly Cities (2014) emphasise how children are part of the wider urban community, and have a right to involvement in the process and outcomes of spatial practice. Indeed, this does not *necessarily* denote an approach that takes more resources, but one that is open to untangling the complexity of the public interest. For instance, attention to children and the child-friendly city concept provides greater incentive to goals the planning system currently strives for such as facilitating greater use of active travel modes; providing a variety of open spaces; and reducing the dominance of motor traffic. However, at present these goals are framed and justified in Scottish planning policy predominantly through environmental and economic lenses, rather than through their social advantages. In spite of this, chapter six suggests that children, as a broad but heterogeneous community of interest, can benefit greatly from these. Indeed, in planning theory, attention to Foucault's (1986) heterotopia can be helpful in envisioning how children approach and react to the places they inhabit.

Though the above opportunities are largely in line with what the planning system purports to strive for, research suggests the realisation of the UNCRC is, and will likely continue to be a major challenge. Especially difficult is to encourage planners and policy-makers, set within a dominant frame of thinking and ways of doing, to consider critically what their role towards children is. National and local government policy often remains in silos, particularly in relation to what is considered child services, and what may implicitly be deemed an 'adult' service, such as planning. Whilst Foucault's ideas help to make sense of why this is the case, they do not provide concrete ideas of how to bring about change, and any alteration in the attitudes and practices of planners are likely to come slowly. Moreover, existing literature, and the findings of chapter seven show professionals often learn through experience and support, over a sustained period of time (Innes & Booher, 2010; Healey, 1997, 1998, 2003b). This is compatible with Healey's (1997) collaborative planning, which emphasises the role that forming partnerships and striving for institutional change can have in improving practice, especially in the long term. However, it is pertinent that public spending budgets, and the agendas of national and local actors set the stage for much of what local actors can achieve. Shier's (2001) pathways to participation shows a useful process in this regard, reflecting on how individuals can only put their intentions into practice when opportunities present themselves. Professionals thus need to be open both to the idea of including children in their policy and practice, and have the resources and support to do so to facilitate the UNCRC. As chapter seven shows, this may be only partially fulfilled if certain groups are easier to consult and empathise with than others. A lack of knowledge and potential fear of speaking to children are likely culprits for this, yet they could be overcome with methods and approaches that I suggest in answering research question three (section 10.5).

10.4 How does the spatial structure of an area affect children's abilities to participate in everyday public life?

Children understand space in a largely experiential way, with chapter six suggesting a singular positive or negative experience can be adequate for a child to determine whether they like or dislike a particular place. Chapter six also showed how, in the Edinburgh case study area, having many local opportunities that a child appreciated appeared to correlate with their general enjoyment of where they lived. In many instances, this was related to living close to friends and relatives. It also showed that the children driven to school often envisaged their locality differently to the children that engage in active travel. Universal however, was an exploration from the children of how cars affect their everyday experience. In terms of time, being driven to school has its advantages, but the heavy dominance of traffic flow in the area often deteriorated the experience of children that walked or scooted. What is also salient from their reports is that most pupils had very restricted independent mobility, but from their viewpoint, this was generally not of particular concern. Instead, they were either generally happy (particularly the younger class), or would prefer more freedom to go outside with friends. Some children also showed a keen understanding of the need to stay safe when travelling outside, and the specific conditions that adults placed on their freedoms to ensure this. It therefore appears that the structure of the area, coupled with social conditions and context, has a significant effect on what children can do, and where they can go in everyday life.

Using Foucault's (1986) heterotopia, and Dehaene & Cauter's (2008) extension of the theory to see children as heterotopians, is helpful in understanding children's disposition towards place. Understanding that children wayfare, rather than play discretely in designated areas, suggests that all space can be play space, and children can cultivate it by themselves if adults give them the time, space, and support to do so (Russell & Lester, 2013; Dehaene & Cauter, 2008). Heterotopia also shows that children can have conflicting views of space to adults. They may find 'bad neighbour' developments a positive use of space, or areas designated for their specific use boring or inappropriate to their needs. The findings of the Wales play sufficiency assessments add further detail here. For instance, Long's (2015) study suggests children have greater satisfaction with their outdoor experiences when there are many choices of space to play, with the quality of such spaces being less important. This challenges the dominant direction of planning, which emphasises density in built up areas, and the development of green networks, rather than a variety of smaller, and more easily accessible open spaces.

Importantly, the planners I interviewed showed a greater disposition to consider children's views in the process of planning (albeit limited) than to consider how they use space, and how existing structures can affect children. Emerging research and the view of play-based scholars and organisations is shining light on this issue. With this, the professionals I interviewed across sectors cited key examples of how the approach of developers, policy-makers and practitioners could move further towards recognising how their approach to place influences children's capacity for participation in everyday life. This is as much about using existing information, and questioning the status quo, as it is about the direct participation of children in the planning process. For instance, developers appear to believe that good quality play opportunities in a new housing development may make the homes less popular and decrease their worth (interviews detailed in chapter six). However, such developments may simply attract a different type of buyer who appreciates the provision of greater opportunities for children's play in their neighbourhood.

10.5 What methods can effectively facilitate a rights-respecting approach to children's participation in planning processes, and its outcomes?

Chapter three reviewed some of the IT based methods that allow children to participate in planning in ways suitable to their abilities. This suggested that such methods can be beneficial and can help planners (particularly those with little experience of working with children) to understand a child's perspective and point of view (Aradi, 2010; Berglund, 2008; Kytä et al., 2004). These methods would likely help achieve a rights-respecting approach to planning, however, the resource implications of such systems appear currently beyond the scope for widespread application in Scotland. Despite this, the mapping methods I used whilst working with Balgreen Primary School, inspired by such approaches, appear to work well in gathering children's views quickly, and the community engagement charity PAS also now use these in their work on community charrettes. The children also seemed enthusiastic about maps, and other simple methods such as filling in worksheets about their own personal experiences. Adopting a flexible approach to this, by allowing children to give as much or as little information as possible, and promoting drawing and writing equally, also moves the methods away from an educational approach, to a rights-based approach, and thus has benefits in valuing the children's participation preferences in the present. It also presents them the chance to not (fully) participate, by omitting or obscuring information if they wish, even within a traditional educational setting. Other methods that seem to work well for children are cognitive mapping, as carried out by South Lanarkshire Council, and the more interactive methods such as the video and VOXOR units they used in their young person's conference. However, whether these work well for younger children is so far unexplored, and as children are in a constant state of becoming, it could be dangerous to assume that what works for

teenagers will work with younger children.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the participation of children is to link participation in the process (Article 12) with outcomes for the children's participation in everyday life (Article 31), and thus enhance its meaningfulness. During my engagements, I had to rely on the actions of others to take the children's views forward, and also had to present the information in a way easy for designers to understand, and potentially use. At South Lanarkshire Council, officers engaging with children also reached out to other local authority departments to gain outcomes for children in areas outwith their jurisdiction. In some cases this worked, but in others it did not. Meanwhile, officers at Aberdeen City Council did not find avenues for much of the non-planning specific information they gathered. Harking back to question one, an important way to value children's participation is to move beyond silos of governance, and encourage collaborative working. South Lanarkshire Council has progressed institutional change in the 10 years they have been working with children, and have therefore met the ideals of collaborative planning by altering their practices to become more inclusive (Healey, 1997). Meanwhile, the professionals I worked with on the Saughton Park project, whilst not venturing to gather the data themselves, expressed openness to doing things differently and taking the children's views on board. Sharing best practice, methods, and expertise may mean that in some cases, the methods of children's participation can be most effective if carried out by those expert in child services, with the results used to facilitate policy and practice across different areas.

Feeding back to participants is another aspect of children's meaningful participation that can be problematic. I found this difficult at times in my engagement with the children at Balgreen primary school, and this was also experienced by Aberdeen City Council and South Lanarkshire Council. This is largely due to the complexity of policy-making and development processes, that can make communication with the children difficult, especially without experience of the competencies and temperament of different age groups. This can become more difficult due to gatekeepers to the children, such as schools, that may restrict communication with former participants. However, it is also complicated by the formal processes of planning that require the production of reports for council meetings; completed representation forms; and/or make it difficult to quantify whether and how children's views have made a difference to the process. This highlights the sensitivity with which children's rights need to be treated as, in some circumstances, a child's ability to voice a valid opinion on an issue may trump their ability to understand the outcome, particularly if the change is very policy-focused. Therefore, it is important for the profession to think critically about how to make participation meaningful in this context, which is likely to be a challenge within the current

systems of engagement, and may never be fully reconciled. However, their participation remains justified if it improves the potential outcomes for children, and may be understood by a child in retrospect as they grow in understanding. In regard to methods that could simplify the procedure, online methods appear easier to use to influence planning, as whilst this still requires planners to be open to using the data meaningfully, the information can be easily aggregated and planners do not necessarily need to gather it themselves.

Children view place through a largely experiential lens, and this means they are able to comment on a variety of aspects of their spatial experience. However, relying on this as a panacea for what every child needs is likely to limit the changes that planners can make. Instead, acknowledging that children can only talk about what they know, but that adults can find out more about children than what they say, is more likely to bring the dual benefit of processes and outcomes in their interest. Moreover, paying attention to the emotionality of the process and views of the children, something that planning currently shies away from (Baum, 2015), would be valuable in integrating a greater child-focus in planning from the outset. Taking the idea of collective wisdom (Russell & Lester, 2013, 2014), explored in chapter eight, may help different public departments and sectors to work together to understand who knows what about children's lives, and offer the help and expertise when required. This entails a greater form of networked, facilitative governance than appears currently in practice in Scotland, particularly in connecting the work of universal and child services, but could be facilitated by learning from the Welsh experience of the Play Sufficiency Duty, and also trusting in the ability of planning authorities to tailor their own approaches, provided they have adequate support. This strengthens the case for using Healey's (1997) collaborative planning as a springboard to encourage partnerships across sectors of policy and practice, in search of more effective planning strategies, and more inclusive spaces for children's participation.

10.6 Action Research and Impact

As discussed in chapter five, my place in this research process has not been neutral, and as part of the action research element, I attempted to make changes for the children I worked with in the Saughton Park restoration process. Indeed, on a personal level, I have also undertaken a somewhat activist role in relation to children's rights and the environment, and as a result, several of my interviewees in Scotland were previously aware of my work. This affected the research process, possibly in pre-disposing my participants to certain topics, means of expression, or perhaps in telling me what they thought I wanted to hear. However, it did also lead to several of my

interviewees showing a reflexive attitude in relation to children, their participation in the process, and the outcomes we should be seeking on their behalf. Indeed, one interviewee attended a seminar I gave at the University of Edinburgh sometime after the interview. With this, my work with PAS has also led to changes in their approach to children's participation, and aided in my own self-reflexivity over what the organisation is able to achieve, and the kinds of projects I feel justified in becoming involved with. For instance, whilst I helped PAS develop programs of children's education as an intern and volunteer during my undergraduate studies (2011-2012), I have since only become involved in projects I feel have a genuine chance for children's meaningful involvement. This is a result of conducting this research, which has rendered me more cynical of the value of hypothetical, education-based approaches to participation in valuing children, and in transforming the planning process.

In relation to the impact of research, during the course of my final year writing this thesis, the Scottish Government commissioned a 'root and branch' independent review of the planning system, for which I submitted written evidence (Wood, 2015). The independent panel included a key member of PAS who is likely to have been influential in assessing the evidence for their review of community engagement policies and practices. I was not called to give oral evidence for this review, but I was contacted for further information on the statutory duty for children's representation in the planning process in Norway (for which I provided a summary and a copy of a journal article (c.f. Wilhjelm, 1995)). This arguably strengthened the case for the independent review panel to recommend, in their report (released in May 2016) that:

'A new statutory right for young people to be consulted on the development plan should be introduced. This would engender much stronger participation in place planning to realise the terms of Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. It is also important that active citizenship is underpinned by education - place planning should be built into the Curriculum for Excellence and the Place Standard should guide much wider discussions on place in schools. Community council membership could be transformed where involvement of young people is a requirement rather than an exception. A mechanism for direct engagement between young people and elected members which focuses on place is also recommended. Training will be required in this area as well as a measure for monitoring inclusion.' (Beveridge et al., 2016, p. 39)

Though these actions are recommendations, there now stands a potential that the Scottish Government could respond with legislation or greater policy attention. Indeed, the Royal Town Planning Institute in Scotland asked me to write a short reflective blog on how planners could address this recommendation (Wood, 2016). It remains however that the review focuses on the language of 'young people', rather than children, and provides no specific recommendation to consider how planning affects children's everyday lives (Article 31). This suggests the beginning of a change in attitudes of some in the planning profession, but reflects the continued attention played to direct participation in process that I explored in this thesis. It will also be interesting to see

whether the approaches or policy formulations of the planning authorities where my interviewees work change in light of their self-reflection, or the results of the independent planning review. Such impacts may not be possible to assess or measure, but any changes to policy and practice in relation to children will be interesting and important to monitor in the future.

10.7 Areas for further enquiry

There are many areas of potential further study that have emerged in the course of this study. Having examined the thoughts and ideas of only a small number of children in one specific area, there is great scope for comparative analysis across different areas within and across towns, cities and villages in Scotland (and other countries). This could also be compared in terms of different approaches to planning, policy structures, and methods and levels of engagement of children. For instance, could Children's Tracks (Barnetråkk, 2015), or SoftGIS methodology (GIM International, 2011) be viable in Scottish planning contexts? And what can the varying methods used by Welsh local authorities in the Play Sufficiency Assessment process tell us about children's everyday experiences of the environment? With this, greater attention to the concept of child friendly cities and their implementation may provide interesting material to evaluate governance approaches. This could lead to further discussions about the role and effect of policy interventions vs. other strategies that may affect the intentions and actions of planning practitioners. The result could be further knowledge of the strategies that help different actors in the process of working together, and sharing best practice. Indeed, emerging policies on children's play (Elsley, 2015; Scottish Government, 2013a,d), the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act, and resulting Children's Rights and Wellbeing Impact Assessments deserve analysis once they have received attention and implementation across policy sectors (Scottish Government, 2015a).

Further research could also be conducted on the extent to which children's participation in the planning process has achieved real and tangible outcomes for children. In this study, such information was difficult to clarify, and measuring the outcomes of planning can be challenging in the Scottish context, where development plans are the primary basis for planning, but development management decisions are discretionary, and may follow other considerations. Greater evaluation of children's post-participation feelings could add understanding and depth to children's rights in this context. It would also provide scope for potential co-production of research, that may be more appropriate to the meaningful involvement of children, and promoting the participation on their terms. This would likely require greater partnership with child-focused organisations, that could aid in tailoring research to the issues important in children's lives, and increase the range of skills and

potential applications on offer.

Another issue is the focus that is paid to teenagers in planning and public space. Whilst they are more likely to be consulted than younger children, their spatial needs appear more likely to be ignored or demonised. This is a breach of their participation rights, as well as Article 15 of the UNCRC that gives children the right to gather in public space. Planning for young children is arguably only possible by simultaneously planning for older children. This is an area that requires further research in itself, and comparing the spatial experiences of different age groups and circumstances of children across a single area could provide interesting and valuable material for academia and practice. In particular, the teenage-voice was not well heard, or accepted, in the Saughton Park restoration process, and thus existing conflicts between younger and older children, and older children and adults appear unlikely to change when the masterplan is implemented.

Finally, the UN's increasing focus on urbanisation and children's environmental experience provide a wealth of areas for further research on this topic from the local, national, and international scale (UNHabitat, 2016; United Nations Human Rights, 2016). Research on children and planning is concentrated in northern Europe, providing scope for increased attention across the world. In particular, it would be interesting to examine and compare wider political ideals and strategies and how they affect the everyday lives of children. Such attention can also provide greater possibility for exploring Foucauldian theory, and the place of children in a rapidly changing world.

10.8 Closing Comments

Children's participation rights, as expressed in Articles 12 and 31 of the UNCRC, are often unknown to many professionals throughout public services that have a notional role in facilitating them. Universal services such as planning have long ignored the wider responsibilities they have towards children, and the Scottish planning system is often reactive rather than visionary, meaning it may not be equipped to protect the public's long term interest. Furthermore, general misunderstanding of the value of play, and children's place preferences means child-friendly environments are not a focus of planning. Instead, planners focus on ways of segregating child space from adult space (Hart, 2002; Cunningham & Jones, 1999). This thesis has argued the dangers of viewing children's rights as outwith the responsibility of planning. Therefore, in envisioning a future where children are respected as individual rights-holders, I hope children's rights can become an inherent part of what planners do, rather than planners addressing the 'problems' of children in isolated ways, as and when they occur.

Appendix One: Initial session plan for work with Balgreen Primary School

The Saughton Park Project
<p>Overall Purpose: To include the children in the process of developing ideas and designs for Saughton Park, and the local area.</p> <p>This will help the children exercise their rights, be involved directly in the local community, and develop a range of skills across the Social Sciences, Health and Wellbeing, Expressive Arts, Literacy and the Technologies.</p> <p>Experiences and Outcomes that will develop throughout the project are:</p> <p>SOC 2-08b</p> <p>HWB 2-12a</p> <p>HWB 2-13a</p> <p>HWB 2-19a</p> <p>HWB 2-20a</p>

Week	Lesson Title	Outline	Activities	Purpose	Experiences and Outcome codes from Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2011)
1	Rights and Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to town Planning, the Saughton Park project, and remembering what we did last time. • What are my rights and responsibilities in the community? • Are these different to other people? • What is democracy, and how does that affect me? • What is research, and do I want to be involved? 	Class Discussion Rights and Responsibilities quiz Group Discussions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To understand that they have rights in the environment which are different to their responsibilities, and as children they have specific rights such as to participate and to play. • To understand where these fit into democracy and the Saughton Park project process. • To understand that they have the right to take part in my research if they want to, but also the right not to. They can still be part of all the activities even if they don't want to share their work with me. 	SOC 2-17a HWB 2-04a HWB 2-09a HWB 2-13a RME 2-05b RME 2-02b
2	Land Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is a landuse? (recap) and think about the different people that use the different land uses in the area. • How do I use the land uses in the local area? 	Class Discussion Group Discussion House in the Countryside exercise Produce a Poster or story.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To understand land uses and the way decisions are made about where they go. • To realise how they and others use and effect land. 	SOC 2-13a SOC 2-16a SOC 2-08a EXA 2-13a EXA 2-05a
3	Where I live	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the area I live in like? 	Class Discussion Drawing maps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To understand that all areas are different and seen differently even by others that live in the same place. 	SOC 2-13a SOC 2-14a SOC 2-16a SOC 2-08a SOC 2-10a

			<p>Looking at maps/plans and marking on home and the things they like to use.</p> <p>Looking at different photos from the area and discussing how they make us feel.</p> <p>Creating a Tourist Poster for the area.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To think about how they use land on a daily basis and which things in the environment are most important. 	<p>LIT 2-29a</p> <p>EXA 2-05a</p>
4	Travel and Transport in the local area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do I get to school, and what do I see on the way? What is my ideal journey to school? How do I get to Saughton Park? 	<p>Class Discussion</p> <p>Group Discussion</p> <p>Individual drawings of routes, or a written description.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To think about the land uses they see and use most, and what they think of them. To explore the ways the local area links with the park, and how the park affects the local area. To assess whether the transport options in the area meet the needs of them and others in the community. 	<p>SOC 2-08a</p> <p>SOC 2-09a</p> <p>SOC 2-13a</p> <p>SOC 2-16a</p> <p>LIT 2-29a</p> <p>EXA 2-05a</p>
5	Saughton Park- the present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How often do I use Saughton Park? What do I like, and what do I not like? 	<p>Class Discussion and question answering (I write down numbers)</p> <p>Looking at photos, google maps, google earth (maybe a visit to the park)</p> <p>Group Discussions</p> <p>Brainstorming</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To think about how the park features in their lives and how it could improve. 	<p>SOC 2-10a</p> <p>SOC 2-13a</p> <p>SOC 2-15a</p> <p>SOC 2-16a</p> <p>SOC 2-08a</p> <p>TCH 2-03a</p> <p>TCH 2-03b</p>
6	Saughton Park- the past	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How has this area changed over time? What is the history of Saughton Park? How and why is it the way it is today? 	<p>Looking at old photos as a class and in groups (Maybe get someone in who remembers some of the old features of the park to talk to the class).</p> <p>Write a story about visiting the national exhibition as if you were living back then.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To think about how history informs the present and whether, and how much, it should inform the future. To think about whether there are parts of what Saughton Park used to be that they think should be brought back? 	<p>SOC 2-04a</p> <p>SOC 2-06a</p> <p>SOC 2-10a</p> <p>SOC 2-13a</p> <p>SOC 2-15a</p> <p>TCH 2-03a</p> <p>TCH 2-03b</p> <p>TCH 2-04a</p> <p>TCH 2-04b</p>

7	Saughton Park- the future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Looking at the original proposals- what do I think? What could be better? 	<p>Class Discussion and presentation about the old Masterplan that we're looking to update and change.</p> <p>Group discussions about what they think.</p> <p>Looking at other examples (maybe using the internet)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To understand that there have been proposals, but these can change with their and other's input. To think about whether that plan fulfils the things they want for the park. 	<p>SOC 2-13a SOC 2-14a SOC 2-10a SOC 2-15a SOC 2-08a SOC 2-08b</p> <p>TCH 2-03a TCH 2-03b TCH 2-04a TCH 2-04b</p> <p>LIT 2-29a</p> <p>EXA 2-07a EXA 2-02a</p>
8	Saughton Park- My ideas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> My proposal for the park, and/or any other proposals for the local area. 	<p>Group Discussions and brain storms.</p> <p>Drawing pictures</p> <p>Writing Descriptions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To think about in groups what they could do to improve the park- what should change, what should stay the same, and what would this mean for different types of people? 	<p>SOC 2-15a SOC 2-08a SOC 2-08b</p> <p>TCH 2-03a TCH 2-03b TCH 2-04a TCH 2-04b</p> <p>LIT 2-29a LIT 2-10a LIT 2-09a LIT 2-02a</p> <p>EXA 2-05a EXA 2-02a</p>

9	Presenting my ideas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do I want to present my ideas? 	Class discussion and group discussions about whether to work alone or in groups, who they want to work with, how they want to present their ideas etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To think about the best way for them to communicate their ideas, whether this be writing a story, description, poem, presenting their ideas to an audience, making a poster, a design board, a model, paintings etc. 	SOC 2-08b TCH 2-04a TCH 2-04b LIT 2-29a LIT 2-24a LIT 2-10a LIT 2-09a LIT 2-06a LIT 2-02a EXA 2-02a EXA 2-03a EXA 2-05a EXA 2-06a
10	Finalising presentations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do I need to do to finish my presentation? 	Individual/group work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create some form of presentation that communicates to other people what they want to happen to the park and/or local area. For me to think about how to arrange an appropriate way for them to present these to others in the community and the decision makers. 	EXA 2-01a EXA 2-02a EXA 2-03a EXA 2-04a EXA 2-05a EXA 2-06a LIT 2-29a LIT 2-24a LIT 2-09a LIT 2-10a LIT 2-06a LIT 2-02a
11	What happens now?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What can I expect to happen now that I have shared my ideas and views? 	Class discussion. Maybe some focus groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To understand how their input fits into the wider process of planning, and the park's development. To think about what they got from the project and reflect on what they did and did not like about the process. 	

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How would they like to be involved in things like this in the future? 	
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**Codes 1, 2 and 3 denote progression of children’s abilities as they move through the school system. SOC stands for social sciences, and HWB stands for Health and Wellbeing.*

Appendix Two: First report to City of Edinburgh and Design Consultants

Saughton Park viewpoints and ideas from local primary school children

Background

This report sets out the main themes and ideas that came out of work with two classes from a primary school local to the park. The children involved in the sessions were between the ages of 9 and 11 and use the park regularly for a variety of activities.

Four sessions were undertaken with each class to meet different aims.

- The first session involved talking about the area and what they think of it in general;
- In the second session, all pupils marked their routes to school on a map and then explained what was important to them about the areas- including what they like and dislike;
- The third session focused on routes to school; and
- the final session focused on the future of Saughton Park.

In this final session, each pupil filled in a worksheet about what they like, want to stay the same, dislike and want to change about the park. This report focuses mostly on this final exercise (40 participants), but with other relevant themes that emerged from the previous 3 sessions.

General

Overall, all the children were very enthusiastic about the park, and also about being involved in shaping its future. During the mapping exercise, nearly all children (35/45) marked on the park as important to them, and only 2 said they disliked it. In fact, several children wrote on their worksheets that they liked everything about the park. However, it is important to recognise that their opinions of the different aspects of the park vary, and in many cases, the most liked things about the park, are also some of the most disliked things when the children's viewpoints are collated. These differences are for many reasons of personal taste and interests, but have a clear gender dimension (there were also more male participants than female participants in the worksheet exercise with 26 boys and 14 girls). Indeed, it came out in class discussion that this area of the city, including the park, does not have as many activities that are appealing to girls as it does for boys; particularly when it comes to sports.

Sporting Facilities

Sport was clearly very important to many of the children, with the Astroturf being the most commonly mentioned thing that they liked and/or wanted to stay the same. Second to this was the Skatepark, which many of the children like to use, particularly with their scooters. Saughton Park Sports Complex was also fairly popular, and many of the children liked the large grassy area where they could play less formal sports. It is worth noting however that most of the praise for sporting facilities was from the boys in each class, and many of the ideas for changes (particularly those not relating to football) were from girls.

One of the things the classes asked to change most about the grassy football area was to put in proper nets year-round so that they would not have to keep running to get the ball every time someone scored. Also particularly popular was removing the charge required to use the Astroturfs. These comments were almost entirely from boys.

The Skatepark, as well as being one of the most liked, was also one of the most disliked things in the park, for a variety of reasons. First of all, many of the children wished for a skatepark aimed more at their age group, as the current one is used mostly by teenagers that colonise the space and often make them feel uncomfortable, as well as most of the ramps being too big for them to try. Many pupils commented on how small they feel the skatepark is and how it should be bigger, with different sections for different age groups and more facilities for scooters. A group of children suggested an area for children under 6, an area for ages 6 to 12, and then an area for older children and adults. The provision of fun space to play on their scooters, and not necessarily skateboards, was particularly important to many of them. Unlike the football facilities, positive and negative comments about the skatepark came around equally from girls and boys.

Summary of other ideas for change

Those coming particularly from girls:

- Outdoor Exercise Equipment
- Swimming Pool
- Basketball court
- Cycle trails (difficult at present to cycle round due to muddy grass and paths and uneven road in the centre of park)
- Tennis Court

Those coming particularly from boys:

- Go karting and Nerf Gun tent (maybe space for special events such as this)
- Bigger Astro turf

Play Opportunities

Just under half of the children mentioned liking the playpark or wanting it to stay the same, but nearly all of them mentioned improvements to the range of facilities, size of the park, and target age group. These comments came equally from boys and girls.

Many children called for the flying fox, chute, spider web and swings to be made more interesting, challenging, and generally on a larger scale, and for features such as monkey bars, and a waterslide to be added. Many of the pupils referred to thinking the play park is good for younger children, but not for their age group. A further concern is the way teenagers treat the play park, with graffiti on the equipment and making others feel unwelcome. There were also several mentions of not liking the wood chippings on the ground.

Many of the children liked that the wider park provided many informal play opportunities, particularly on the large grassy portion, and in the Rose Garden. They particularly like that they could enjoy the beauty and nature of the Rose Garden whilst playing fun games with their friends. However, places to play games was something both classes felt would be good to have more of, particularly places where they could play inside or play board games in the park.

Other Ideas for Change

- Tree House.
- Outdoor trampolines.

Gardens

The children showed a lot of enthusiasm for the gardens, particularly for the Rose Garden. Many of them mentioned how they appreciate the flowers, nature, seeing dogs, the routes it offers around the area, its safety, the space it offers for them to play games, and the serenity and calmness they feel from spending time there. However, several children said they've been made to feel unwelcome there by other users of the gardens or from the staff. They were also upset by instances where they have seen others picking or damaging the flowers. There was also talk in classroom discussions that many children would like spaces where they could be by themselves and relax, or in small groups. One suggestion for this was to have some comfy (and fun) chairs and alcoves in the Rose Gardens.

The Winter gardens are also popular, but not nearly to the same extent. Many of the children focused on suggesting improvements for the winter gardens and its facilities, whilst they mostly wanted the Rose Garden to stay the same with only minor improvements (such as more colours and more flowers). Particularly of concern are the toilets, which many said were disgusting, and also the lack of café facilities. Other ideas to improve it included making it bigger, more colourful and having lots of fish.

Other points

The children were all particularly concerned with social issues such as:

- Serious and petty crime;
- Anti-social behaviour;
- Bullying;
- Conflict with older children;
- A tree full of skater's shoes by the skatepark;
- People revving and showing off their cars;
- Smoking;
- Drinking;
- Graffiti;
- Littering; and
- Dog poo.

Some children felt that there was not enough for them to do in general, and also not enough for teenagers to do which causes them to be nasty towards the smaller children. Another comment related to making more use of the river as a feature for the park or adding in ponds. There was generally a lot of support for having more animals and ideas of animal attractions, included a petting zoo and butterfly sanctuary.

Finally, the children felt the park could be improved aesthetically with more colour, art and measures to control litter and dog poo. During class discussions, it was also clear that this included the fences around the park (too many and unattractive), which also have few gates and prevent anyone from reaching the AstroTurf directly from the park. Other comments included adding more bins, benches, surveillance, increasing park maintenance and preparing the park for the different seasons such as Christmas and Easter.

Things most appreciated and most in need of change

Below are collated lists in each box of the worksheet that the pupils filled out. They are ranked in order of number of mentions. This provides an indication of the themes that came out most often.

As mentioned before however, it is important to note that many of the most appreciated things were also those children wanted most to change.

<p>Most Likes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Astroturfs 2. Skatepark 3. Playground- most liked equipment is chute, flying fox and the swings. 4. Rose Garden 5. Spaces to play games such as the grassy areas or the rose gardens 6. Football areas on the grass and natural surroundings of the park such as flowers, trees and animals. 7. Winter gardens 8. The tree where teenagers in the skatepark throw their shoes (shoe-tree)- some found it funny or liked how they claimed the space. 9. Being a calm place/ everything about the park/ space to run/ the class's vegetable patch/ the pleasant routes it can offer around the area. 	<p>Most dislikes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social issues in the park, particularly littering, dog poo, graffiti, and the way teenagers use the park. 2. Skatepark 3. Lack of café. 4. Play Equipment- boring, for younger children and unchallenging. 5. Toilets 6. Winter Gardens/ a general lack of things to do/ paying for the AstroTurf/ difficulty of cycling around.
<p>Most wishing to 'Stay the same'</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rose Gardens 2. Skatepark 3. Astroturfs 4. Playground- particularly the chute, flying fox, slide, swing and sandpit (this was a mixture between the pupils liking them themselves, and other liking what they offered to younger children, but wanting to make them more challenging for their own age group) 5. Winter Gardens 6. The grass/ football pitches 7. Football clubs/ athletics track/ sports complex/ workers/ shoe tree/ nature/ keeping everything the same but adding more/ entrance/ the class's vegetable patch. 	<p>Most wishing to Change</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Skatepark 2. Playground- particularly chute, flying fox and sandpit. 3. Ground (in the playground and mud in the grassy area) 4. Social Issues in the park. 5. Toilets/ shoe-tree/ The Rose Garden. 6. Paths/ car park, nettles/ Winter Gardens/ fences/ AstroTurfs.

Appendix Three: Second report to City of Edinburgh and Design Consultants

Balgreen pupils' response to 16th December Design Proposals

40 children between ages 9 and 11 took part in an exercise where I presented back to them the ideas they submitted before December about the park, and then explained the proposals from the design team as of 16th December 2014. After some class discussion and questions, I gave each table an A2 sheet with 2 questions:

1. Do you like the proposals?
2. What would you add?

The pupils then discussed in their groups what they thought, asked me any questions they had as I came round, and recorded their ideas on the sheet. In addition, I gave each group post-it notes to record their individual opinions if they had views and ideas the group did not agree with as a whole.

After this exercise, I gave each group a new A2 sheet that asked them what events they would like to see in the park. They filled this in in the same way- sometimes as a group and sometimes adding an individual idea. In total, I collected the responses from 8 groups-4 in each class. Their responses to the first sheet are below, whilst their event ideas are in a separate document.

What do they think of the proposals?

The classes were both generally positive towards the proposals and did not state particularly disliking aspects of it, other than one comment that the park should not change too much (as it brings back lots of good memories) and another that commented that the changes seem complex. Other than this, the general consensus was that they like the changes proposed but more things should be added.

The positives

The pupils showed a lot of excitement towards the bandstand, but one child felt it would be better placed near the café. They were similarly excited about revitalising the winter gardens and potentially having more and better things in it. In particular, they were very happy to hear about improvements to the toilets and development of a café, but many children requested that the prices be cheap so that everyone can make plenty of use of it.

The focus on horticulture, and therefore the increased possibility of more colours, flowers and plants was very popular, and they were happy that the park will be cleaned up with the redevelopment and have more welcoming entrances and better paths that will make walking, cycling and scooting easier. One group commented that they liked how there is something for everyone in the plans.

What they would add

A lot of the suggestions for change relate back to the ideas they submitted previously and were particularly related to sport such as providing space for:

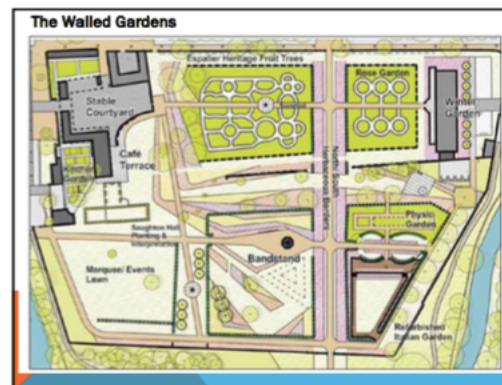
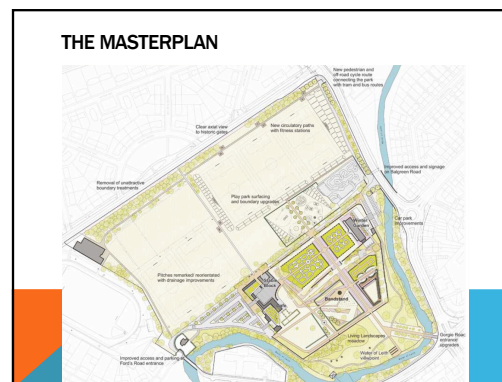
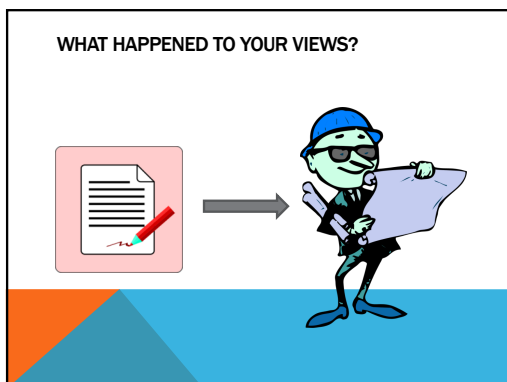
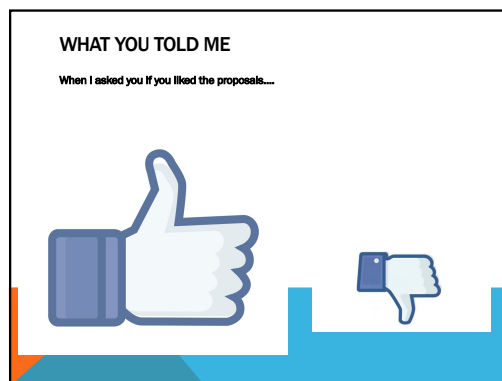
- Squash;
- Tennis;
- Horse riding;
- Go-karts;
- Basketball;
- Trampolines;
- Gym equipment; and
- A swimming pool.

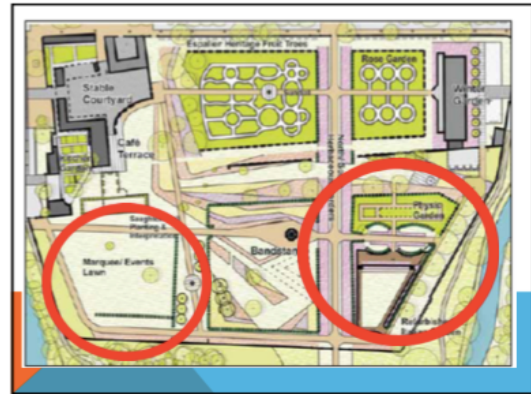
Further to this they requested removing the charge for using the astroturf, a motorbike track, and increasing the size of the skatepark so there is more provision for younger age groups. They also reiterated some of the changes they mentioned previously about widening the range of facilities in the playpark to include a greater range of ages and bring in more challenging equipment. In particular, a lot of children requested the surfacing be changed to a softer material and the flying fox, chute and roundabout be made more exciting.

Other changes they suggested were:

- Having games consoles and board games to play in an area of the café;
- Introducing a water feature to the gardens (both streams and waterfalls were suggested);
- A mini-hill for a picnic area;
- A BBQ area;
- A high point where people could go to view all of the park;
- Making sure there are peaceful places to enjoy the flowers that are away from the activities;
- Having more provision for dogs, such as a separate dog area so that they do not poo everywhere or interrupt the children's play;
- Baby changing facilities; and
- A suggestion that more use should be made of the football pitches for other things as they take up too much space at the moment.

Appendix Four: Child friendly presentation on Saughton Park. Children received a copy each with explanations in notes





Entrances



CAFÉ, TOILETS AND COMMUNITY CENTRE



Old Stable Block and Yard The feedback you have given us supports the development of a new café, public toilets and a community space that can be used for meetings, lectures, education and other activities as well as being available for hire by the local community. It's proposed to host these facilities in the Old Stable Block and Yard.



Garden café



Demonstration garden looking towards café at dusk.



Inside café with views out to the gardens.



The bandstand

Many of you have supported the idea of restoring the historic bandstand and using it for performances throughout the summer.



The refurbished bandstand will be located in the Walled Gardens where the annual beds are currently. New landscaping, improved planting and grassed areas will provide an attractive backdrop where spectators can sit to enjoy performances.



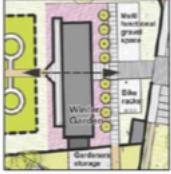


Winter Garden

Many of you enjoy using the Winter Garden but feel it needs a bit of a facelift. We'll refurbish or replace the existing Winter Gardens using glass panels and an improved internal layout with space in the middle for gatherings and activities.



New entrances will be positioned centrally which will provide an attractive entrance to the Winter Gardens.



The older ancillary buildings will be demolished and a new garden store area incorporated. Attractive landscaping will create a sense of arrival through the east gate.



Play and Sport



The Water of Leith



You suggested a lot of events, and these have been used to come up with an events plan for the park.



13th -19th July
One big tent with lots of activities.
More information at: <http://www.thetent.co.uk/>



2015 Calendar

Community feedback on proposals

Design team finalises Masterplan

Application for money finalised and submitted

We find out result!

Appendix Five: Third Report to City of Edinburgh and Design Consultants

Children's Feedback on Saughton Park Masterplan

09/03/15

A session of 45 minutes was held with two classes (43 children) at Balgreen primary school. All children were between the ages of 9 and 11 and were told about the Masterplan through a presentation, child-friendly hand-out about the Masterplan to look through and keep, and an A3 copy of the Masterplan to mark with stickers, post-it notes and comments. The children were made aware that at this stage there are likely only to be small changes made to the Masterplan. The views of the children as expressed below are based on aggregating the views they expressed on their copy of the Masterplan. It is assumed that where the children made no comment on a particular aspect that they have neutral feelings towards it.

Positives

The pupils were very positive about the Masterplan, with a number of children not expressing any particular concerns or dislikes over any part. Particularly popular were the improvements to the football pitches, improvements to the winter garden, reintroducing the bandstand and the new designs for the café. Other improvements such as improving the entrances, improving the existing paths and introducing the new circulatory path and fitness stations were also very popular, as was removing the current fence around the north and eastern edge of the park. In addition, plans to improve the playpark were very popular though the children were disappointed that this may take some time.

Negatives

Though no aspect of the park was seen as entirely negative by the classes, some of the children expressed dislike over certain aspects of the Masterplan. In particular, 5 children didn't like the changes to the car park at the Fords Road entrance, (though 8 more appreciate the improvements to the entrance). Other negatives were:

- 3 children were not keen on the plans for the old stable block (14 liked it).
- 3 children disliked the idea of keeping the winter gardens where they are (17 liked it).
- 2 children disliked the idea of the micro-hydro power scheme (1 child liked it).
- 2 children disliked the idea of the water of Leith viewing platform (13 commented that they did like it).
- 3 out of 25 children that expressed an opinion on the bandstand did not like it.

In general, the children did not comment on their dislikes (except for when it came to the skatepark), and getting further comment was not possible given time constraints. By far the most contentious issue was that no changes to the skatepark are included in the Masterplan which many children (14) maintain needs to be expanded so there is an area for smaller children, or there need to be more rules that help stop conflicts occurring between older and younger children.

Suggestions

In the course of completing the Masterplan exercise, the children also suggested a few improvements:

- Wooden shelters around the park
- A paddling pool for the summer
- Roofs over football pitches
- Basketball court

- Area for dogs
- Outdoor trampolines

Appendix Six: Ethical justification for work with Balgreen Primary School. Submitted to, and approved, by Heriot-Watt University

Section D: Further Information Regarding Ethical Considerations

If you responded 'No' to any questions in section B, or 'Yes' to any questions in Section C, please provide further information, indicating how you would address this issue. Please be as comprehensive as possible, as this will speed the process for the referees and may avoid the need to contact you for further information or clarification.

(The Economic and Social Research council, 2012) ethical guidelines list children as a group of research participants to which heightened ethical scrutiny is required. This is both because they are seen as vulnerable, and also a group that can only be accessed through adult gatekeepers. Despite this, the guidelines note that for normally-developing children in a mainstream school setting, 'Ethics approval may involve light touch review if the researcher can confirm that they are abiding by the established protocol and that this is appropriate for their research.' (p.8). Therefore, I present in the following discussion the ethical principles I have considered in the research design, and why they make this approach suitable and respectful to the participating children. Indeed, as the focus and aim of my research is to further understand and implement children's rights, I am committed to constantly evaluate my approach and methods throughout the research period, as ethics need to be ongoing throughout the process of research (Morrow & Richards, 1996).

The main ethical issues to be addressed are:

1. Access to children in the school environment;
2. Informed consent/dissent from participants, and parental consent;
3. The appropriateness of methods;
4. The outcomes of the research for participants; and
5. Child Protection.
6. Data Storage and Data Protection

1. Access to children in the school environment

Carrying out ethical research with children in the school environment requires enhanced Disclosure from the Central Registered Body of Scotland.

'The CRB offers organisations a means to check the background of researchers to ensure that they do not have a history that would make them unsuitable for work involving children and vulnerable adults' (The Economic and Social Research council, 2012, p. 24).

I have received this disclosure for other projects with children and will renew this to ensure I have approval for carrying out my work as a researcher from Heriot- Watt University. This can be done by updating my membership of the scheme through Volunteer Scotland. I

will also seek approval from Edinburgh City Council Education Department to carry out my research in state run schools in the city, as well as discussing my research with the head and class teacher at any school I visit, to explain my aims, objectives, and awareness of the potential ethical issues.

In addition to this, 'In sensitive research involving vulnerable populations, particularly children, the competence of the researcher to undertake the research should be considered.' (The Economic and Social Research council, 2012, p. 24). Therefore, I completed a training course in February 2014 entitled 'Involving Children and Young People in Research and Consultation' at Edinburgh University, which gave me a grounding in ethics and methods for this work. I have also previously been involved in classroom work with children through the charity Planning Aid Scotland.

2. Informed consent/dissent and parental consent

In carrying out research with children, it is vital that they are made aware of the research, why it is being undertaken, what their role is within it, the general procedure, their rights not to take part (without giving a reason), and to confidentiality (except in circumstances of child protection). Care should be taken to do this in a way that is appropriate to the children's age, abilities and understanding so that they can give informed consent (Barnardos, n.d; Morrow & Richards, 1996; Matthews, 1998; The Economic and Social Research council, 2012; Glasgow University, 2014). Therefore, once I have established contact with a school and arranged to carry out research with them, I shall come in to explain to the class what I intend to do, how I intend to do it and what the outcome is expected to be. I will also provide them with an age-appropriate written briefing of the project, as condoned by York University's ethics board (Noret, n.d). As part of this, (Barnardos, n.d) emphasise how language should be very carefully used so as not to subtly coerce or pressure children into taking part.

I propose carrying out classroom activities in the school which contribute to aspects of the curriculum, so that all the children can be involved whether or not they intend to submit their work as part of my research. This should overcome issues of exclusion or coercion into taking part, which several ethical guidelines flag up as a potential problem of research in a school environment (Morrow & Richards, 1996). It will also mean that children not wishing to be part of the research will not face potential exclusion by their peers, and all participants will have plenty of time to decide whether they submit their own work to me for analysis, without having to give initial, rushed decisions, or feel scared to withdraw their consent halfway through the project. Therefore the choice to withdraw and change their minds will always be available.

This approach will allow the potential participants to think about whether or not they want to be involved in the research, or whether they want just take part in the classroom activities. In this sense, the ethical consent procedure will be that of 'opt out', and given the non-sensitive nature of the research, I aim to give the child participants the ultimate say in whether or not they take part, as it is vital not to underestimate the abilities of children to

give full, informed consent (Barnardos, n.d; Morrow & Richards, 1996; The Economic and Social Research council, 2012; Glasgow University, 2014). Indeed, involving children in the consent process can be useful for giving them a sense of control and autonomy over their own privacy and individuality (Weithorn & Scheerer, 1994) which could have personal benefits to them, and benefits to the authenticity of their responses.

I recognise that there is much debate around the role of guardians in giving consent for children to take part in research, but as the York University Ethical Guidelines (Noret, n.d) state, there is no consensus on whether guardians should always have the final say in children's consent to research activities, and where work is carried out in a school environment where other gatekeepers have already given consent, the ethics board is happy to accept passive consent from guardians. To ensure passive consent, and to inform of what is happening, I shall also issue a letter to the guardians of each child in the class to inform them of the activities I am undertaking and the choice the children have about whether to be part of the research. The guardians will then be able to contact me about any questions or concerns they have, and request that their child not take part in the research if they feel there is a good reason they should not.

3. The appropriateness of research methods

(Morrow & Richards, 1996) condone a mixed methods approach of participatory research with children as this enables every child to play to the strengths, gathers a range of data, and allows for data triangulation. Therefore, I will use a range of visual methods in annotated photographs, drawings and maps as well as oral methods in class feedback, informal interviews and focus groups. Depending on the wishes of the participants, I may also use written methods such as story or description writing to gain their views. As active participants in the research process, I will be flexible in my methods to suit the wishes and needs of the class; conducting constant evaluation in my work. This aligns with (Harden et al., 2000) view that this flexibility is vital in respectful research with children.

I aim to involve the children as co-researchers in the process of the analysis of their area as this enables the participants a greater control over the procedure, helps to make the research more participatory, and therefore can help produce more worthwhile results that help challenge adult views of their local environment. This approach is increasingly condoned in the literature of children's participation as it could help reduce some of the differentials in power relations between the researching adult and the researched children (Morrow & Richards, 1996). As part of this I will also include the children in the evaluation of my findings so that they can ask questions and challenge my way of seeing things. This could partially mitigate concerns that

'the question of objectivity is...more acute than in any other social science field, because children...have to leave the interpretation of their own lives to another age group, whose interests are potentially at odds with those of themselves.' (Qvortrup 1994 p.6).

4. The outcomes of the research for the children involved.

It is important that the research is rights-respecting at all times, with the overriding consideration that it is in the best interests of the child. Within this, Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child gives children the right to participate meaningfully in research, and this has been an underlying value of all aspects and methods of research with children (Matthews, 1998; Glasgow University, 2014). As one of the key findings from the literature on children's participation, and as the final step of the Scottish Commission for Children and Young People's golden rules of participation (SCCYP, 2013), I aim to feedback and keep in touch with the participants about the outcomes and meanings of the research. (Morrow & Richards, 1996) are keen to point out that this is often neglected in research with children. Indeed, (Barnardos, n.d) sees this as an essential step to reinforcing the value placed in their participation and in ensuring that data is interpreted in as fair and as authentic way as possible.

Another consideration is (Matthews, 1998) emphasis on making the value of children's contributions clear, but also being careful to not raise expectations that changes suggested by the participants may come to fruition. For this reason, I intend to organise an exhibition/presentation session to the children's guardians and any other interested community members. This can let them know the work the children have been doing and give them an insight into the children's perceptions of their local area. In this sense there will therefore be an achievable outcome of the project for the participants to work towards, no matter the outcome of my research.

5. Child Protection

A child protection issue is understood to be any indication of abuse or neglect that could put the child in danger (The Children's Society, 2014). In working with children, it is important to be transparent with the participants about the limits of confidentiality, and explain in terms they understand that you cannot maintain their confidence should a child protection issue be indicated (Noret, n.d; Morrow & Richards, 1996; The Economic and Social Research council, 2012; Glasgow University, 2014). Therefore,

'Before starting a project involving children...the principal researcher should have established a procedure and the necessary systems and identified contacts to activate help and support in the event of a disclosure.' (The Economic and Social Research council, 2012, p. 25).

Therefore, if there is a need to break the confidentiality of a participant I intend to first inform them of why, and let them know what I am obliged to do to ensure their protection. Depending on the circumstances, this could mean informing the school, a parent, social services or the police. The NSPCC helpline is also available 24 hours a day for advice on handling such issues (The NSPCC, 2014). However, the likelihood of needing to use such a strategy remains low given the non-intrusive and non-sensitive nature of the research. To protect children in the outputs of research and the data collection procedure, I will anonymise their input in research outputs and store any confidential data securely so that no individual can be recognised from it.

Appendix Seven: Ethical justification for interviews. Submitted to and approved by Heriot-Watt University

I will be conducting semi-structured research interviews with professionals in the fields of planning and children's play. Each of these will take around one hour and be based in the place of work of the interviewee. The interviews will be conducted with full written consent of the interviewee and recorded for transcription with the interviewee's permission. Interviewees will be free to end the interview at any point without giving a reason and will also see and be able to make changes to the transcribed interview before it is used as research material. All interviewees will be anonymised in the research outputs

Appendix Eight: Example information and consent form for interviewees

Interview Date:

Interviewee:

Location:



I am a PhD student investigating the Scottish town planning system and children's rights. I am carrying out this interview to find out more about your role, views, experiences and opinions in regard to the development of the Play Sufficiency Assessment and Action Plan in your local authority area. I am particularly interested in the links it has/is making with the planning system and how planning can support a child's right to play and to participate in matters that affect them.

This interview will be semi-structured, meaning I have a set of broad questions (see overleaf), which I will use to guide our conversation, but we will not necessarily address these in order or stick rigidly to them. It should last for around one hour, but you are free to stop the interview at any time and do not need to give a reason. Any information I use in my work from the interview will be attributed to your role in the Play Sufficiency Assessment process and not to your name.

From participating, you will get a better understanding of what I am hoping to achieve through my PhD, children's rights and how they may be applied to town planning.

I will only proceed with the interview if you give your full consent by signing below:

I give my full consent to be interviewed:

Name: _____

Signature _____

Date: _____

I would like to record the interview so that I can accurately transcribe what we talk about. If you agree, after the interview I will send you the transcript that you can amend as you feel, and only the transcript approved by you will be used in analysis and research outputs. Once the interview is complete, the recording will be kept securely and deleted once it has been transcribed. If you give consent, you can still ask me to turn off the Dictaphone at any point without giving a reason. In this case, you can choose whether to terminate the interview or continue without recording. I will make some brief notes during the interview as prompts for myself and in case the recorder

fails.

I will only proceed with recording the interview if you give your full consent by signing below:

I give my full consent for the interview to be recorded:

Name: _____

Signature_____

Date:_____

If you have any problems or questions with the interview you can contact me via email at jw247@hw.ac.uk or my supervisors Dr Caroline Brown: c.j.brown@hw.ac.uk and Dr Peter Matthews: peter.matthews@stir.ac.uk

Appendix Nine: Letter to Director of Children and Families at the City of Edinburgh Council

Institute for Social Policy,
Environment and Real Estate
Heriot-Watt University
Edinburgh
EH14 4AS

10 September 2014

Ms Gillian Tee
Director of Children & Families
City of Edinburgh Council
Business Centre 1/9
Waverley Court
4 East Market Street
EDINBURGH
EH8 8BG

Dear Ms Tee

Conducting PhD research at Balgreen Primary School

I am writing to request written permission to carry out PhD research with classes P5/6 and P6 at Balgreen Primary School in this current academic year.

I will be spending one afternoon a week covering topics such as the local area, map reading and getting involved in the community. This will link with both the Curriculum for Excellence and my research on children and the planning system. The working title for my PhD is *Spaces to Participate: Children's Rights and The Scottish Planning System*. An abstract of my work can be found at the end of this letter.

I have full ethical approval from Heriot-Watt University's ethics committee and consent from the school's head teacher. In addition I will inform all parents and pupils about the nature of the research, and their right not to be involved.

I can provide full details of my research topic, methods and approved ethics form on request. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or concerns.

Yours Sincerely



Jenny Wood
PhD Researcher
jw247@hw.ac.uk

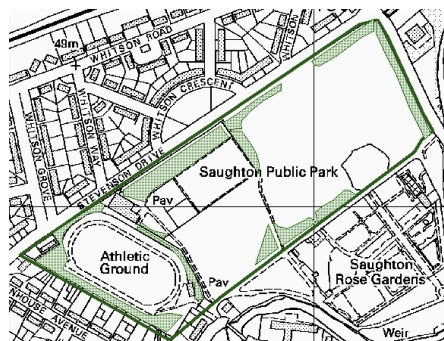
PhD Abstract:

Spaces to Participate: Children's Rights in the Scottish Planning System

Children have internationally recognised rights as enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. These have been recognised in the UK since 1991, but official reports and research show that the UK is remarkably slow in recognising such rights as: *"to participate in all decisions that affect the child"* and *"to play, leisure and cultural participation that is appropriate to the age of the child"*.

This research examines how the town planning system in Scotland promotes or hinders such rights, particularly for children aged 6 to 12. This is through extensive analysis of planning policy and practice, elicitation of the thoughts, opinions and ideas of children in relation to their local areas, and investigation of the methods and approaches that can enshrine a child's right to participate in decisions that affect their environment, and also recognises their diverse environmental needs.

Saughton Park and my Local Area Research Project



Pupil Information sheet

What is the project about?

Everyone has the right to give their ideas about where they live, and be part of decisions about their area. In the next few years, there are going to be lots of changes to Saughton park, and I want to hear your views and ideas about how it should change. I also want to know what you think about the area around the park and the area you live. Together, we are going to explore your thoughts and ideas, and let the people that make the big decisions know what you think.

What do I have to do?

We will take part in some activities to look at maps, plans, take some photos, and present our ideas about the area. After the project, you can choose whether you want me to write about what you think and say or not, and you can get involved in all our activities even if you don't want to be part of my research. There are no right or wrong answers about what you want to happen, and you can always change your mind.

It is your right to give your views and ideas, and they are equally as important as anyone else's.

What will happen with your work?

I will let the people working on the Saughton Park project know what you think, so that they can think about your ideas in their plans.

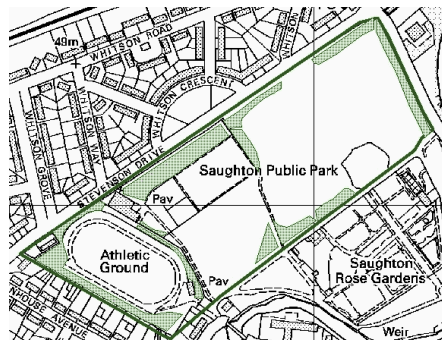
If you let me use your work for my research, I will use it to get a better idea of what the area means to you, how you use it, and what you would like to stay the same and to change.

This will help me work out how people of your age participate in the area. It will also help me to understand how you can get more involved in decisions about your area. I will not tell anyone your name, where you live or other personal details.

What should I do if I have more questions?

You can talk to me (Jenny) during our classroom activities, or you can email me at jw247@hw.ac.uk.

Saughton Park and my Local Area Research Project



Parent/Guardian Information sheet

What is the project about?

I am a PhD researcher at Heriot-Watt University investigating children's rights and town planning in Scotland. This year I am doing some work with your child's class about the redevelopment of Saughton Park, and also looking at the general area around it. My aim is to understand how local children can participate in the decision-making processes about the area, and how they see and use the area at the moment. This is in light of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child that gives children the right to play rest leisure, and access to cultural life, as well as the right to participate in all matters that affect them.

What will we be doing?

We will take part in activities to look at maps, plans, take some photos, and present ideas about the area. After the project, the pupils can choose whether they want me to include

their work in my research or not, but no one will be excluded from the activities, regardless of their decision.

What will happen with their work?

I will let the people working on the Saughton Park project know what the children's ideas are so that they can think about them in their plans.

If your child chooses to let me use their work for my university research, I will use it to get a better idea of what the area means to them as representative of their age group, how they use it, and what they would like to stay the same and to change.

This will help me work out what the space provides for children in this age group, whether and how it should change, and how this could be addressed by services such as planning. It will also help me to understand the different methods that could be used to get children more involved in the decisions that affect them, and what they think does and does not work well.

Confidentiality

At no point will I be collecting any sensitive information about the pupils, and all data I collect will be stored securely and anonymised in any outputs of my research. I have full ethical approval for my research from Heriot-Watt University, and permission from the City of Edinburgh Council Education Department.

If you would like any more details or have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me at jw247@hw.ac.uk.

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